FEBRUARY 15, 2016

TIME

‘I know what it’s like to be knocked down’

A conversation with Hillary Clinton

By Joe Klein

Clinton in Hampton, N.H., on Feb. 2

time.com

Zac Posen, Fashion Designer

Awards season is crazy for designers. Thankfully, AT&T turns my car into a Wi-Fi hotspot, so I can stream my red carpet dresses on awards night from the comfort of the passenger seat. Because apparently, awards season traffic is also crazy.

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RALLY: NATALIE KEYSSAR FOR TIME; ODENKIRK: AMC

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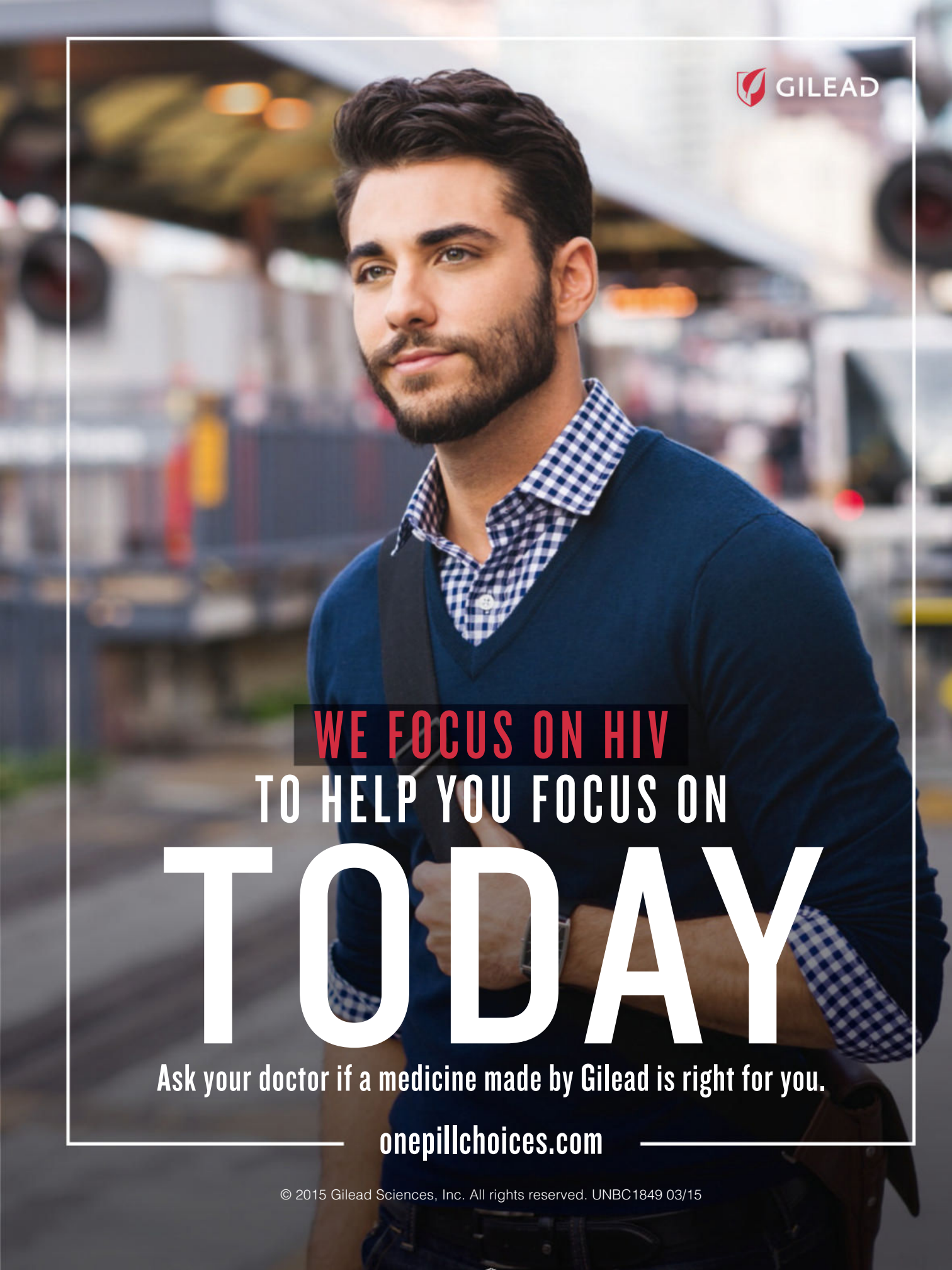
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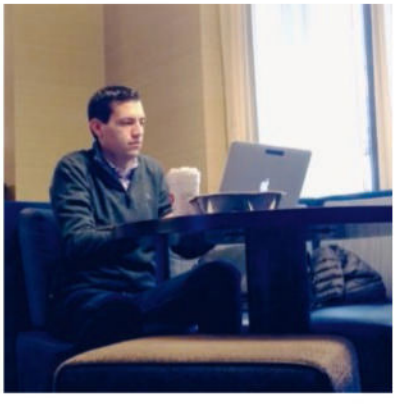
The race of a lifetime

IN THIS FLAMBOYANTLY UNPREDICTABLE election season, the principles of political journalism remain unchanged. Go where the action is, ask smart questions, and take the time to listen. TIME's political reporters have crisscrossed the country for months and moved in force through Iowa and New Hampshire to capture this amazing race, hour by hour.

While reporting on Marco Rubio, Zeke Miller broke the news of a last-ditch attempt by Iowa Governor Terry Branstad to lift Chris Christie's struggling candidacy. By the time the caucus doors opened, Sam Frizell had interviewed scores of Bernie Sanders' supporters. Jay Newton-Small sat down with the senior Clinton staff after covering candidates from Carly Fiorina to Martin O'Malley. Tessa Berenson's weekend took her from interviewing Donald Trump in his plane on the Des Moines tarmac to watching Mike Huckabee and his team a few miles away hand out Krispy Kreme doughnuts to supporters. Philip Elliott managed to witness both Trump's Boeing 757 flyby in Dubuque, which was scored to music, and Ted Cruz's bus getting stuck in the mud in Iowa City. "It's a big, chaotic field, and nobody has any idea who's going to get crowned," said Alex Altman, who traced the groundswell that made Cruz a winner. Francesca Trianni and Diane Tsai captured onstage and backstage moments in a series of TIME.com videos. The whole team was expertly led by Washington bureau chief Michael Scherer, who is covering his fifth presidential race, and politics editor Ryan Teague Beckwith.

And they are just getting started. To follow the plot twists, subscribe to Miller's Politics email newsletter, a morning digest of all you need to know, at time.com/newsletters.

ON THE TRAIL *Hillary Clinton talks to TIME's Joe Klein on Feb. 2 in Hampton, N.H., as photographer James Nachtwey captures the moment. For Klein's take on "the eternal Hillary Clinton dilemma," see page 26*



On the road with the candidates, clockwise from above left, are TIME correspondents Jay Newton-Small, Diane Tsai, Francesca Trianni and Zeke Miller

Nancy Gibbs, EDITOR

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▸ In Conversation (Feb. 1), an item about TIME.com's interactive feature on Oscar diversity incorrectly described Spanish actor Penélope Cruz. She is white.

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

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TOP: BARBARA KINNEY; MIDDLE FROM LEFT: JAY NEWTON-SMALL; FRANCESCA TRIANNI; JAKE SWANKO; BOTTOM: PHILIP ELLIOTT

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‘Courageous conservatives said, “Yes we can.”’

TED CRUZ, Republican presidential candidate, borrowing a line from President Barack Obama after winning the pivotal Iowa caucus

Grease: Live
Fox’s musical topped NBC’s *The Wiz Live!* and *Peter Pan Live!* in ratings

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Greece
Workers blocked a major highway to protest austerity measures

‘Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to diverse TV.’

IDRIS ELBA, actor, commending the winners of the Screen Actors Guild Awards, a racially diverse group compared with the all-white Oscar acting nominees; Elba won Best Supporting Actor for *Beasts of No Nation* and Best Actor in a Limited Series for *Luther*

38

Cell phones found stuffed in the pants of a British man arrested for allegedly stealing them from people at a concert

$6.7 billion

Total legal marijuana sales projected in the U.S. for 2016

‘WE CAN STILL HELP THEM. WE CAN STILL PROTECT THEM. THEY ARE NOT LOST YET.’

MALALA YOUSAFZAI, Nobel Peace Prize winner, calling on world leaders to commit $1.4 billion to educate Syrian refugees as peace talks to resolve the years-long civil war were suspended two days after they began, on Feb. 1

‘It is now spreading explosively.’

DR. MARGARET CHAN, director-general of the World Health Organization, on the Zika virus, which WHO declared an international health emergency

$82,000

Final auction price for one of the black Fiat 500L cars used by Pope Francis during his visit to the U.S. last year

‘We’re not going to rest until our kids get what they deserve.’

ALISE ANAYA, Detroit public-school teacher, as she and hundreds of her colleagues called in sick to protest poor conditions. The sick-outs have closed dozens of schools

CHAN: AP; GETTY IMAGES (5); ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

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The Brief

'ARE THESE SIGNS THAT REFORM AND JAPAN'S ECONOMY ARE IN TROUBLE? NOT LIKELY.' —PAGE 12

MEDICINE

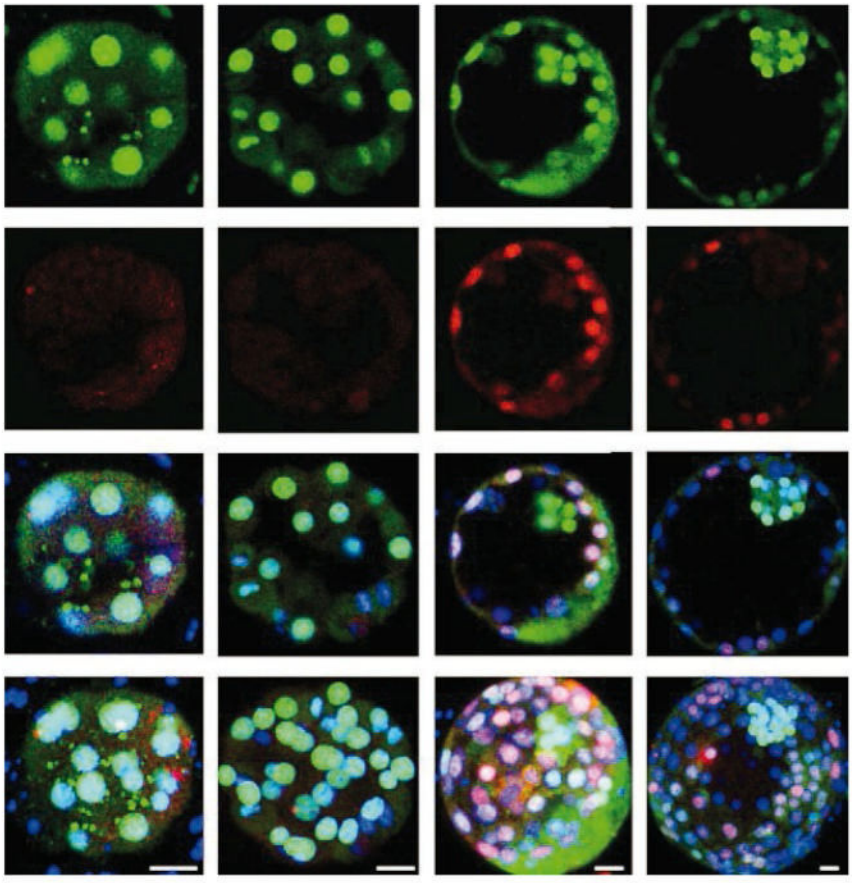
A scientist gets the green light to edit the human genome

By Alice Park/London

IT WOULD HARDLY BE HYPERbolic to say that inside a nondescript office in London on Feb. 1, a small group of scientists and patient advocates made a decision that could potentially change the future of humanity. Since 2012, scientists have been experimenting with CRISPR-Cas9, a powerful tool that works like an editor for DNA—allowing them to find and correct mutations that can lead to deadly diseases. Now, for the first time, a researcher has the green light to test this tool on viable human embryos. Kathy Niakan is expected to start trials in London at the Francis Crick Institute—known as the Crick—within the next several months.

Scientists have manipulated the genomes of many animal species, but no sanctioned studies on human embryos have been done using CRISPR. Last year, to the horror of some scientists and ethicists, Chinese researchers reported that they had experimented on human embryos, prompting calls for a temporary worldwide moratorium on the use of CRISPR on so-called germline cells—those from human embryos, eggs or sperm. That's because unlike other gene-editing techniques, which can be clunky to use, CRISPR is precise, efficient, affordable and, perhaps most concerning to some, easy to use. That's what makes the Feb. 1 decision, issued by the U.K.'s Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority (HFEA), so precedent-setting. It's also what makes it so controversial. Depending on whom you ask, CRISPR can be cast as a medical miracle with the potential to help cure diseases like sickle-cell anemia, Alzheimer's and even cancer—or a science-fiction nightmare waiting to happen.

For her part, Niakan is treading carefully. She ultimately hopes her research will shed light on what makes a healthy embryo, which could lead to information that could help prevent miscarriages and improve fertility. "We want to understand the biology of how to make a successful embryo," says Niakan. "Now we have a really efficient method that allows us to make very precise and specific alterations to the DNA sequence. That allows us to ask questions about the function of genes, and which are required for healthy development." Because the research is focused on the earliest stage



The colors in these embryos show the activity of different genes, which can be edited using CRISPR-Cas9; Kathy Niakan, below

COURTESY THE FRANCIS CRICK INSTITUTE (2)

of development, the embryos will be destroyed after seven days (which in itself is an aspect of this work that makes some people uncomfortable).

The fact that CRISPR allows scientists to permanently alter the human genome of embryos makes some scientists nervous. "I do not think we are ready to edit human embryos yet," says J. Craig Venter, who co-mapped the human genome. "We have little or no knowledge of how changing the genetic code will affect development. Only a small percentage of genes are well understood. For most, we have little or no clue as to their role."

Jennifer Doudna, a professor of chemistry and molecular and cell biology at the University of California, Berkeley, who played a key role in developing CRISPR, says she supports Niakan's study—but only because she isn't bringing the embryos to term. "I don't think it's appropriate or responsible to use CRISPR in embryos that would be implanted in people right now," she says, adding that there are too many unknowns about the long-term effects of manipulating human genes.

After all, that manipulation is permanent. Theoretically, if the embryos were allowed to survive, their edits would be passed on to their offspring. Most ethicists accept the idea of adults' having their genes altered to treat disease. But when genetic editing is done in a human embryo or in germ-line cells, like those in egg and sperm, the changes are forever. That may sound great if the changes prevent a person from developing lung cancer, but scientists worry that any permanent and heritable change could come with downstream consequences that simply aren't fully understood—and can't yet be predicted.

Manipulation of the human genome also raises ethical questions about how we define which parts of the DNA we decide to alter. For instance, should genes that contribute to non-life-threatening conditions that affect quality of life, such as asthma or severe allergies, be edited out? What about the ones linked to a predisposition for obesity? Or having red hair and freckles?

"Whenever you do gene editing, you create a different person," says Calum MacKellar, director of research at the Scottish Council on Human Bioethics. "What you are saying, in a way, is that certain people should not exist, and that other people should exist. When you start to go down that road, you hit the eugenics field."

The embryos Niakan will edit won't survive beyond a week, but the fact that scientists are beginning to manipulate germ-line genomes with a tool as efficient as CRISPR means that issues like these about where to draw the line need to be discussed, and soon. "We are asking these questions," says MacKellar, "because the possibilities are in the future and the *near* future." ◻

TRENDING

TERRORISM
Boko Haram insurgents **massacred more than 80 people in the Nigerian village of Dalori,** near the provincial capital, Maiduguri. The attack came a little more than a month after President Muhammadu Buhari said the Islamist group had been "technically defeated."

BUSINESS
Yahoo plans to **lay off about 1,600 employees and explore "strategic alternatives"** like selling or spinning off Internet properties, the company said on Feb. 3, as quarterly earnings showed sluggish growth and shrinking revenue from digital advertising.

FOOTBALL
Concussions reported by NFL players **rose 30% in 2015, to a total of 271,** the highest number in four years. This comes as researchers said former Oakland Raiders quarterback Ken Stabler, who died of cancer in July, also had a chronic brain disease linked to head trauma.

CAMPAIGN 2016

Lessons from Iowa

The first caucus may be over, but its results will affect campaigns for months to come

THE RULES OF PRESIDENTIAL politics shifted on Feb. 1 from fun house to schoolhouse. As so often happens, the voters of Iowa imposed a tug of gravity on a campaign that long ago seemed to break its own bounds, as Ted Cruz's traditional turnout and message discipline trumped the Trumpapalooza. And the raw political talents of Marco Rubio gave him a clear shot at the Establishment lane that the GOP has used to pick nominees. Meanwhile, Hillary Clinton was able to slay her 2008 demons—barely. Iowa has never been great at picking nominees, but a state known as "the Big Sifter" separated the wheat from the chaff. Within hours of the results, Rand Paul, Mike Huckabee, Rick Santorum and Martin O'Malley had all suspended their campaigns; the rest of the candidates are now gearing up for a lengthy fight to the finish.

—ZEKE J. MILLER AND PHILIP ELLIOTT

Ballot counting in West Des Moines, Iowa

TED CRUZ

MECHANICS STILL MATTERS

The Texas Senator knew not just the phone number but perhaps the resting heart rate of every conservative voter in the state. His threshold for success was evangelical turnout above 60%; it reached 62%. He had 1,500 precinct captains and 12,000 volunteers making more than 25,000 calls a day in the home stretch. To accommodate out-of-staters, he offered a former college dorm to call home.

DONALD TRUMP

BRAVADO CAN BACKFIRE

Maybe skipping the last debate hurt after all. Trump headed into the final stretch of the campaign with a clear lead in the polls, but when caucus night arrived, he was a loser among voters who decided in the final week. Iowans are a proud tribe, and slights have consequences.

BERNIE SANDERS

THE YOUTH VOTE HAS LIMITS

Sanders enjoyed a huge generation gap, winning 84% of voters ages 17 to 30 in entrance polls. But those voters were only 18% of the electorate, down from 22% in the big Obama win in 2008.

JEB BUSH

MONEY CAN'T BUY EVERYTHING

The onetime front runner and his super-PAC pals raised more than $155 million, but they have little to show for it. They spent about $2,800 for every vote in Iowa—18 times what Cruz did.

HILLARY CLINTON

A WIN IS A WIN IS A WIN

A muddied victory is still not a loss. Clinton studied—and then weaponized—the Democratic Party's rules to her fullest advantage in Iowa, in some cases shifting her supporters' allegiances to boost Martin O'Malley, a spoiler's move to deprive Sanders of any extra delegates. No one can deny it was a nail-biter. Her narrow victory was so close in some locations that organizers were left with the most old-school of tiebreakers: a coin toss. There's no place like Iowa.

WHAT'S NEXT FOR AMERICA? AN ELECTION-YEAR GUIDE

2/9 ▸ NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY
Independents, who can vote in either party's primaries, may well decide the outcome

2/20 ▸ SOUTH CAROLINA PRIMARY (R)
Establishment candidates tend to make their mark

2/20 ▸ NEVADA CAUCUSES (D)
The first chance for Sanders to show he can win Latinos from Clinton

2/23 ▸ NEVADA CAUCUSES (R)
Rubio, who grew up here, would love a first-place finish

2/27 ▸ SOUTH CAROLINA PRIMARY (D)
African-American voters, who now largely back Clinton, could decide the outcome

3/1 ▸ SUPER TUESDAY
More delegates are at stake in more Southern states than on any other day

3/8 ▸ MICHIGAN PRIMARY
The blue collar state where momentum and television spending are king

3/15 ▸ NOT-QUITE-SUPER TUESDAY
The first day of winner-take-all voting for the GOP with pivotal states Florida, Ohio, Illinois and North Carolina

4/19 ▸ NEW YORK PRIMARY
After a "spring break," with just a few small contests, the Empire State decides

4/26 ▸ NORTHEAST PRIMARY
Includes moderate and liberal states like Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland and Pennsylvania

6/7 ▸ FINAL PRIMARIES
California anchors the final date of voting on the GOP side with a huge crop of delegates up for grabs

7/18 ▸ REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION
Republicans gather in Cleveland; a floor fight to choose the nominee is possible

7/25 ▸ DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
Democrats gather in Philadelphia

Rubio in Iowa

TERRORISM, FOOTBALL, TRUMP, CLINTON, RUBIO: AP; BUSINESS, BALLOTS, CRUZ, BUSH: GETTY IMAGES; SANDERS: REUTERS

TRENDING

ENVIRONMENT
Los Angeles County has filed criminal charges against a utility over a gas leak in Aliso Canyon that has **released 80,000 tons of methane into the environment.** Prosecutors say the Southern California Gas Co. failed to promptly report the leak to authorities.

POLITICS
Burma's first **freely elected parliament in decades** was seated on Feb. 1, after Aung San Suu Kyi's opposition party won a large majority in November. An army-drafted constitution bars the party leader from the presidency, but she will be able to pick the next leader.

EUROPE
The E.U. released draft reforms on Feb. 2 **aimed at keeping the U.K. in the union** ahead of a planned referendum in Britain, including measures to limit benefits for migrants. British Prime Minister David Cameron welcomed the proposals but said they must go further.

THE RISK REPORT

Why a scandal won't stop Abenomics

By Ian Bremmer

ALLEGATIONS THAT JAPANESE ECONOMY Minister Akira Amari accepted bribes from a construction company have sent shock waves through the country's political class. Amari was a central player in Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's economic-reform drive, known as Abenomics, and a key figure in the government's bid to join the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), an enormous trade pact. Then there was the unprecedented decision by Japan's central bank on Jan. 29 to apply a negative interest rate to bank reserves, forcing banks to pay for money in reserves, and so encouraging them to get it into circulation.

Are these signs that reform and Japan's economy are in trouble? Not likely. Although Amari has denied wrongdoing, he accepted responsibility for the alleged actions of his staff and resigned on Jan. 28. Government critics and Japan's weak opposition will press for further investigations, but many recent opinion polls have shown a rise in Abe's popularity, suggesting that even those who doubt Amari don't blame Abe. Amari's replacement, Nobuteru Ishihara, is a nine-term member of Japan's lower house of parliament with plenty of useful experience as both a Cabinet minister and a leader in Abe's ruling Liberal Democratic Party. He has some reformist credentials and is a solid choice for the job.

Abe will work to enact a budget by the end of March. Lawmakers are likely to ratify the TPP during the current Diet session, which will probably end in early June. Even if the Amari scandal lingers or it becomes clear that TPP ratification in the U.S. will have to wait for the lame-duck session of Congress after the election, Abe can probably still push the deal through this fall or early next year. He's also likely to press his advantage over the opposition by calling a snap double election for both upper and lower houses of parliament in July and moving forward with an increase in consumption-tax rates in April 2017.

Then there's that surprise from the Bank of Japan (BOJ). Analysts warn if negative interest rates don't work—if, say, businesses fail to offer significant wage hikes—Abe's reform drive could meet headwinds just in time for elections.

> Are these signs that reform and Japan's economy are in trouble? Not likely

But Abenomics requires bold leadership, and with the rates decision, BOJ Governor Haruhiko Kuroda has demonstrated that he's up to the job. The positive effects of the rate move will intensify over time as the bank increases asset purchases and expands the size of its reserves. Downward pressure on the yen will likely boost business and investor sentiment, and the Amari scandal will end up old news.

There's no guarantee that these moves by Abe and Kuroda will finally kick-start Japan's long-stalled economic engine. But a failure to take bold action will guarantee that reform will fail—with dire consequences for the third largest economy in the world. □

EXPLAINER

Obstacles on the road to peace in Syria

TALKS TO END THE CIVIL WAR IN SYRIA were suspended by the U.N. on Feb. 3, just two days after delegates from the government and the opposition coalition gathered in Geneva. Although U.N. special envoy Steffan de Mistura said the halt was temporary, major hurdles stand in the way of diplomacy:

FRACTURED OPPOSITION Syrian rebels and opposition groups formed a 34-seat body called the High Negotiations Committee in December, but lingering tensions between Islamist rebels and civilian opposition groups have

The peace talks were halted as Russian and Syrian government forces launched a fierce air offensive on rebel-held areas of Aleppo

Milestones

‹ Cianci, who served four years in prison on a racketeering conviction, pictured in 1979

DIED

Vincent 'Buddy' Cianci

Beloved mayor, convicted felon

By Joseph R. Paolino Jr.

VINCENT A. CIANCI JR., KNOWN FAR AND WIDE AS Buddy, was mayor of Providence, R.I., before me and then again after me. There were many projects Buddy started that I completed, just as there were projects I started that he completed. It's hard to believe now that our history was complicated. During those days, we weren't friends. We didn't like each other. And we relished it!

Buddy, who died Jan. 28 at 74, had his troubles. But there was no greater champion of Providence's revitalization. It is impossible to sum up his achievements in changing the face of the city, spearheading the celebration of culture, the arts and historic preservation, and building new parks and schools. That is his legacy. As Teddy Roosevelt said, "His place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who neither know victory nor defeat."

Paolino was the mayor of Providence from 1984 to 1991

CLAIMED
By **Google,** the top spot among the world's most valuable public companies. The market capitalization of the search giant's parent company, Alphabet, briefly surpassed that of Apple after a better-than-expected quarterly earnings report.

AGREED
To be purchased for $43 billion in cash, Swiss pesticide and seed giant Syngenta. The buyer is **chemical company ChemChina.** If the transaction is completed, it will mark the largest foreign takeover by a Chinese company to date.

WON
His sixth Australian Open championship, by **Novak Djokovic.** The No. 1–ranked male tennis player defeated No. 2 Andy Murray in three sets and tied Roy Emerson's record for the most men's singles titles at the tournament.

ANNOUNCED
By **Cindy Crawford,** one of the highest-paid supermodels, that she will retire from modeling after she turns 50 on Feb. 20.

DIED
Terry Wogan, 77, veteran BBC Radio personality who hosted the U.K.'s most popular morning radio show, *Wake Up to Wogan.*
Benoît Violier, 44, chef at the Restaurant de l'Hôtel de Ville in Switzerland, which had three Michelin stars and was ranked No. 1 on France's list of the 1,000 best restaurants in the world. Police believe it was a suicide.

ENVIRONMENT, EUROPE, SYRIA: GETTY IMAGES; POLITICS: EPA; CIANCI: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

DATA

YOUTH LITERACY RATES

People in the U.S. and England ages 16 to 19 are among the most illiterate in the developed world, according to the OECD's latest literacy rankings. Here's a sample:

1 South Korea

6 Poland

14 Germany

20 Italy

21 U.S.

23 England

left it unable to present a united front. And Kurdish armed groups that control a significant portion of the country have reportedly not been invited to participate in negotiations.

THE ASSAD QUESTION There is still no agreement among the warring parties about the fate of President Bashar Assad and his regime. The U.S. has backed away from calls for regime change, but opposition groups are demanding Assad's departure.

THE REGIME'S STRENGTH The Syrian President is in a stronger position now than he was six months ago, owing to air support from Russia and the entry of Iranian troops into the conflict, as well as Shi'ite fighters from Iraq and Afghanistan. The injection of foreign troops has made up for a shortage of local recruits to Assad's military, and since Russian jets began bombing in September, the regime has stabilized its grip on territory it still controls. All of this will make Assad less likely to compromise.

RENEWED VIOLENCE Air strikes by Russia and the Syrian regime reached a crescendo in early February in a new offensive launched on the key city of Aleppo, with human rights groups estimating some 270 strikes in three days. The rebels say negotiations are pointless while attacks and hunger sieges on rebel-held and civilian areas continue. Even if talks resume later in February as planned, a triple bombing by ISIS near Damascus that killed at least 45 people on Jan. 31 serves as a reminder that jihadi groups are ready to undermine any deal. —JARED MALSIN/CAIRO

WORLD

Horror on the edge of Turkey

HE SAW THE INFANT FIRST. THE boy was face up, wearing dark pants and a blue top with FLYING CLUB printed over an image of a vintage airplane. A hat had been placed over his face. An orange pacifier attached by a yellow chain hung to the side. "The first minute, I couldn't shoot any pictures," Ozan Kose, a photographer based in Istanbul, says of this scene. "I just looked around, and I was shocked."

A few steps away, an older boy lay in a similar position. He was wearing Velcro boots, jeans and a life vest. A woman in a dress was nearby, her legs still in the water. Officials were removing bodies when Kose arrived. Not far in the distance was their boat, half submerged.

Turkish state-run media reported that the vessel had been aiming for the Greek island of Lesbos, as so many had done before it, when it struck rocks and capsized not far from shore. Some 75 people were saved, but at least 37 died, pushing January's death toll in Greek waters past 270, according to the International Organization for Migration.

The harrowing picture draws parallels to that of Alan Kurdi, the Syrian-Kurdish boy whose clothed body was found farther south on the Turkish coast last September. Images of the 3-year-old, face in the sand, went viral and ignited cries to help the refugees and migrants surging toward Europe. "I think nothing has changed," Kose says. "I got almost the same pictures." —ANDREW KATZ

The bodies of two boys and a woman are seen washed up on the shore of the western Canakkale province in Turkey on Jan. 30

PHOTOGRAPH BY OZAN KOSE—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

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THE DETAILS MAKE THE STORY

Launched her fashion line
(Her daughter drew the cat)

Met her husband at
an improv class in LA

Studied fashion in Illinois

FROM OLYMPIC STAR TO CALL GIRL
A Duggar Wedding!
All the Joy...and Drama
SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE
People
People
EXCLUSIVE
IN HER OWN WORDS
How to Love the Way You Look
By Melissa McCarthy
The star—and fashion designer!—shares her guide for feeling fabulous
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BEST DRESSED STARS OF 2015
Reese Is No. 1!
Plus Hot Trends, Most Stylish Couples & more!
44 FALL MUST-HAVES

Baked her way to stardom
on Gilmore Girls

Grew up in a farm town

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People

The View

'IF YOU LOVE BARBIE LIKE I LOVE HER, YOU HAVE TO LET HER CHANGE.' —PAGE 24

In 2000, Survivor *wasn't expected to take off; today it's one of the most reliable draws on TV*

CBS PHOTO ARCHIVE

ENTERTAINMENT

What reality TV can teach reality politics

By Daniel D'Addario

FROM THE START OF HIS PRESIDENTIAL run, Donald Trump has been dismissed as the "reality-TV candidate." It's an easy jab: the billionaire mogul spent a decade hosting *The Apprentice,* and he stumps with the kind of exaggerated language that typifies the genre's biggest stars. Even as Trump's campaign rolls on—he's polling ahead in New Hampshire after a second-place finish in Iowa—his competitors keep insisting that the American public will suddenly lose interest. We're living in a "reality-TV kind of political environment," Jeb Bush has said. "The emotion of the here and now will subside."

But the history of reality TV itself, which now spans more than 15 years, tells a much different story. And if Trump's critics pause to consider it, they may well eat their words.

Much like Trump, the first network reality show, *Survivor,* was initially written off as a fad. In 2000, a time when the top series were all polished and scripted—*ER, Friends, Frasier*—nobody expected anyone to watch jittery camera footage of real people fighting over rice on a tropical island. (That's why CBS debuted the show in summer, its TV wasteland.) The smoothly edited, highly structured *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire,* the thinking went, was about as "real" as people wanted to get.

In both cases, the Establishment was wrong. *Survivor*'s premiere drew 15.5 million viewers, and its stars—villainous Richard Hatch, quirky Colleen Haskell—quickly became household names. Within a few years,

every major network had launched an arsenal of reality hits, including *Big Brother, Joe Millionaire* and *American Idol.* Turns out people were intrigued by the raw competition of reality TV, just as they're drawn to politicians who scoff at standard politics.

As these shows became commonplace, they redefined how people "acted" on TV. Under pressure to please producers and entertain audiences, reality stars—with the help of editors, of course—presented as hyperreal, elaborately performing their humanness so that every antic could prompt a special episode of one sort or another. During *Survivor*'s first finale, Sue Hawk, a truck driver, compared her castmates to "snakes and rats" and said she would be fine leaving one "dying of thirst" on the side of a road. On Season 1 of *The Apprentice,* which aired in 2004, archvillain Omarosa bragged to the camera about unnerving her competitors. "I called her a baby," she once said. "I told her to go in the corner and get her pacifier and her blanket and go cry, which is what she always does." Back then, it was shocking—boycott-inducing, even—to see behavior like this on national TV.

Today it's expected. At any given moment, there are thousands of reality shows airing live or available to stream—everything from *The Real Housewives* to *The Voice* to *Married at First Sight,* a show where people literally do that. Some have won Emmys and produced stars, like Kelly Clarkson and Snooki, whose careers eclipse those of more traditionally famous entertainers. Others have snagged marquee guests, like President Obama, who appeared on *Running Wild With Bear Grylls.* And scripted comedies, such as *The Office* and *Modern Family,* have openly embraced the "confessional," a reality-show trope in which stars talk directly to the camera. The tribe has spoken. They love this stuff, and it's here to stay.

In that vein, it was never probable that Trump, the reality-TV candidate, would subside out of the blue. If anything, his rise marks the start of a new normal, in which politicians are rewarded for being the biggest possible versions of themselves—just as they would be on reality TV.

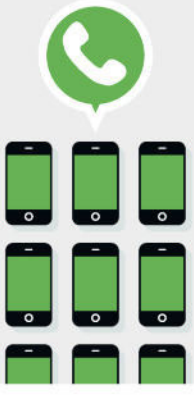
Consider Trump's Jan. 28 rally at Drake University. While his competitors faced off in a traditional debate (on Fox News), Trump stood solo on a podium, talking straight to the camera (on both CNN and MSNBC). At one point, protesters started shouting. It was the kind of disruption that Trump, as host of *The Apprentice,* spent years trying to moderate. But here, set free as an agent of change in the political realm, he was Omarosa, smirking from the stage. "I love the protesters in the big arenas because the cameras never move," he announced. "They're always on my face."

Seconds later, the crowd went wild. ◻

DIGITS

1 BILLION

Users each of Gmail and WhatsApp, per announcements from Google and Facebook, respectively. (Apple also said it has sold 1 billion iOS devices.) That's an important benchmark, signaling that the email client and the messaging app will have staying power. "We're excited," read a WhatsApp statement. But "we still have another 6 billion people … to go."



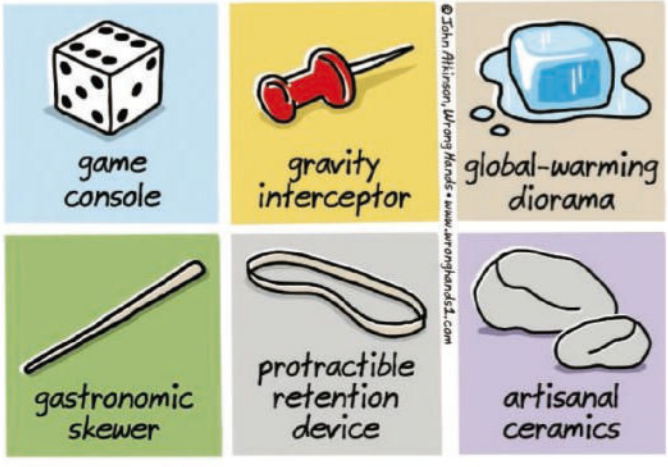
NUTSHELL

The Importance Of Being Little

THE AMERICAN APproach to preschool tends to fit one of two molds: direct instruction, with rigorously scheduled lesson plans, and free-form, in which kids learn on their own whims. In her new book, education scholar Erika Christakis argues that both approaches are lacking. A better method falls in the middle, helping kids "exercise their deductive muscles" without boring them or giving them too much agency, writes Christakis, who resigned from her Yale teaching post Dec. 7 after an email she wrote ignited a campus debate about racial insensitivity. Instead of drilling kids on vocabulary, for instance, teachers and parents should focus on how well they can carry on a conversation. They should also ensure that structured activities like team sports do not replace playtime, especially for kids under 5, who need play to develop social skills and deductive reasoning. Too often, kids' innate abilities are "masked by adult … obliviousness," Christakis writes. In advocating for effective preschooling, "my aim is to reveal those special powers." —SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

Very last-minute gifts



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

SNAPSHOT

The floating bonsai

Air Bonsai, a miniature tree that rotates in space, has raised more than $600,000 in less than two weeks on Kickstarter—more than quintuple its goal. Here's how it works, according to its Japanese creators, Hikaru Hoshi and Masanori Imayoshi. *—Julie Shapiro*

1. A container made of moss or lava rock houses the roots as well as a small magnet.
2. The porcelain "energy base" uses another magnet, powered by electricity, to push the tiny tree 0.8 in. (2 cm) in the air.
3. Magnetic forces then make the bonsai spin, an effect that's both enticing and expensive. Early backers spent at least $500 to get full kits.

HOSHINCHU AIR BONSAI GARDEN

QUICK TAKE

How to survive the new economic normal

ONE OF THE MOST DISTURBING THINGS about our current economic era is its juxtapositions. Wages are flat, yet corporations are flush. Interest rates are at nearly unprecedented lows, yet investment lags. The economic gap between Main Street and the markets, which are increasingly volatile, is as big as it's ever been.

In *The Only Game in Town: Central Banks, Instability and Avoiding the Next Collapse,* Mohamed El-Erian aims to make sense of this bifurcated world and where it's headed. The former CEO of investment-management firm PIMCO and chief economic adviser for insurance giant Allianz explains how, in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis and Great Recession, central banks pumped unthinkable amounts of cash into the global system—around $29 trillion total—and slashed interest rates to zero. The result: rather than a Great Depression, we got a "new normal" of slower growth (but at least it was growth).

Now, that's coming to an end. What replaces it will likely be a period of economic and political volatility and instability of the sort that we have only just begun to see, with roller-coaster markets rising and falling on the latest jittery news from China or the oil markets, and formerly unimaginable politicians like Donald Trump or Marine Le Pen taking advantage of people's fears that tomorrow will indeed be worse than today. El-Erian's book is a primer on where we've been and where we are going—and how to invest in this rocky world.

—RANA FOROOHAR

DATA

SPEEDY SIGNALS

Mobile-analytics firm OpenSignal recently measured the top 4G download speeds in major U.S. cities across all four major carriers. Here's a sampling of the results—which all trail the rate of 25.2 megabits per second (Mbps) that has been recorded in Spain:

1. **Miami**
18.9 Mbps
Verizon

2. **Chicago**
18.8 Mbps
Verizon

3. **New York**
16.6 Mbps
T-Mobile

4. **San Francisco**
15.9 Mbps
Verizon/T-Mobile

5. **Philadelphia**
13.0 Mbps
T-Mobile

6. **Houston**
9.8 Mbps
AT&T/Verizon/T-Mobile/Sprint

7. **Washington, D.C.**
9.2 Mbps
Verizon/T-Mobile

—Sarah Begley

Retirees' biggest asset may be hiding in plain sight

By Dan Kadlec

IF YOU ARE NEAR RETIREMENT AGE AND WATCH EVEN A little TV, you've almost certainly seen Henry Winkler or the late Fred Thompson promote reverse mortgages. You may also have heard watchdog groups blast both actors for hawking a complicated product to seniors in need of cash. What you likely haven't heard is that the reverse mortgage has gotten a substantial makeover since the financial crisis.

Experts now argue that this type of loan can be safe and even wise—as well as a key source of income that homeowners short on savings and planning to stay put should set up the minute they become eligible at age 62. "The strategic use of home equity in a retirement-income plan is the next hot topic," says Wade Pfau, professor of retirement income at the American College of Financial Services and retirement-research director for an asset-management firm.

About 36% of owner-occupied homes are mortgage-free, according to the Census Bureau. The share jumps to 65% for homes owned by folks ages 65 and older. Many other homeowners have substantial equity. Yet even amid a retirement-income crisis, $12 trillion in home equity just sits there for peace of mind or to preserve a financial legacy. "This is the asset hiding under your nose," says Shelley Giordano, chair of Security 1 Lending's Funding Longevity Task Force, which raises awareness about how home equity fits into a retirement plan.

A reverse mortgage is a loan that allows you to turn your home equity into cash. The vast majority of such loans fall under the federal Home Equity Conversion Mortgage (HECM) program, the only ones most people should consider. With HECM loans, you can take the money as a lump sum, monthly payment or line of credit. You must own the home as your primary residence and keep paying insurance and taxes. When you leave, the house gets sold and you or your heirs receive any proceeds beyond the loan balance. This has advantages over a traditional home-equity line of credit. You make no monthly payment out of pocket, and the lender may not cut or close your credit line as long as you adhere to loan terms.

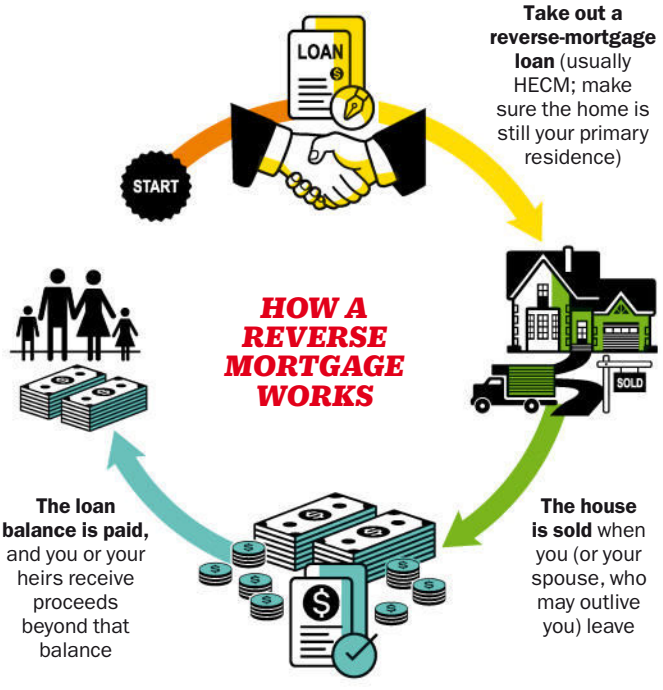
In years past, closing costs might have included a loan-origination fee of $6,000, a gaudy "set-aside" of $6,000 and a few thousand dollars more for the mortgage-insurance premium and other costs. Now set-asides are rare, and if you shop around, you may be able to negotiate away the origination fee altogether, says Giordano.

Some lenders jack up the interest rate to compensate, warns Michael Kitces, director of financial-planning research at Pinnacle Advisory Group. "When I look under the hood, I don't find costs have come down much," he says. Michael Foguth, a planner in Howell, Mich., says the loan balance still grows at a compound rate—interest on interest. "I continue to view it as a loan of last resort," he says.

Still, reforms since the crisis have all but eliminated risky full-draw loans, curtailing the high-pressure sales tactics that often accompanied them. Lenders must perform a financial assessment. There are also new protections for a spouse whose name may not be on the title. In 2014, financial regulator FINRA removed official language calling reverse mortgages a "last resort" option.

But the big breakthrough has been research showing that homeowners who set up a reverse-mortgage line of credit early may in time gain guaranteed access to funds in excess of the value of their house. This is a loophole that almost certainly will be shut down, Pfau says. That's one reason Kyle Winkfield, a financial planner in Washington, D.C., recommends that homeowners with a potential savings shortfall open a reverse-mortgage line of credit now. "It's better to have this and not need it than to one day need it and not have it available," he says.

Homeowners who set up a reverse-mortgage line of credit and do not use it until they run out of other funds have generally stronger results than those who do nothing until other retirement funds are dry. Tapping the equity line only when stocks are down, giving your portfolio a chance to recover, has similar benefits. The next time a silver-haired star urges you consider a reverse mortgage, it may be a sound suggestion. ☐


HOW A REVERSE MORTGAGE WORKS
START
LOAN
Take out a reverse-mortgage loan (usually HECM; make sure the home is still your primary residence)
SOLD
The house is sold when you (or your spouse, who may outlive you) leave
The loan balance is paid, and you or your heirs receive proceeds beyond that balance

MAKING HOME PAY

Long scorned, reverse mortgages are getting another look

90%

Probability of not running out of money for 30 years in retirement for homeowners who set up a reverse-mortgage line of credit and do not use it until they run out of other funds

70%

Probability of not running out of money for homeowners who do nothing until their other funds have been exhausted

INFOGRAPHIC BY TODD DETWILER FOR TIME

SOURCE: WADE PFAU, PROFESSOR OF RETIREMENT INCOME AT THE AMERICAN COLLEGE AND DIRECTOR OF RETIREMENT RESEARCH AT MCLEAN ASSET MANAGEMENT

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VIEWPOINT

‘If you love Barbie like I love her, you have to let her change’

By Ken*

FIRST OF ALL, I WANT TO SAY THAT NO ONE HAS LOVED Barbie as much as I do, or for as long as I have. From the moment I first set eyes on her in 1961, she has been the light of my life, the fire in my—well, let’s not overstate things here. Let’s just say she has been the light of my life and the source of an unspecified warmth somewhere at the center of my body.

And after more than 50 years of being pretty much the same, the woman I love has changed. But I do not plan on loving her any less. I hope that you won’t either and that the following words will help serve to let Barbie know we honor and support her courageous metamorphosis.

I know that, yes, while Barbie is my lady, she doesn’t belong to me. She belongs to every little girl who dreams of being free, of having lots of outfits, of doing splits without changing her expression. I know I haven’t always been perfect. My plastic hairstyle might make me seem shallow, as if I was so worried about having a hair out of place that I said, “You know what, guys? Just mold it to my head.” But I’m not just some guy who stands next to a surfboard looking like I need to go No. 2. I am a man of my times. All those sustainability conversations you’ve been having? I have them too. Just lower to the ground.

AND LET’S FACE THE MUSIC—I will face it slowly and awkwardly, without blinking; you feel free to face it your own way—Barbie just wasn’t sustainable. Her proportions just didn’t exist in the real world. Of course, Barbie and I didn’t actually live in the real world. If she had, we’d have spent all our time filling out health-insurance forms and lying awake wondering which one of us had ruined the other’s life instead of driving around in a camper. Still, there’s only so many times you can hear the woman you love walk into a lingerie department and ask, “Where are the 22EEs?” without your heart breaking into a million pieces. On a more practical level, the Mattel art department told me it’s way easier to make tiny hamburgers and chicken-cutlet sandwiches than tiny plastic lettuce leaves or the spicy tuna rolls Barbie eats on heavy workout days.

I don’t know about you, but my love for Barbie means I’m happy she is going to get to be all the things she couldn’t be before. Tall—really, rather tall!—and slim. Medium sized and curvy. Petite! Barbie is finally going to get to experience what it’s like to be relatively normal. She’s going to see that there’s more to life than doing splits in a camper. That said, if you want Barbie to do splits in a camper, that Barbie still exists. Actually all Barbies can still do splits. But they do them while having smaller breasts and bigger butts and thighs, so they’re more like regular women who are also gymnasts than superglamorous, bizarrely thin women who are also gymnasts, and this means women will feel better about themselves?! Argh. It all made sense in the training. Eight words: Thank God for the magic simplicity of surfing!

Yes, Barbie will wear bigger clothes, and yes, not all her friends will be able to borrow them. But don’t worry. She will still be more attractive and have a healthier BMI than the average woman. She will still have a vacant expression on her face, as if she spent hours watching that new Amazon original show *Mad Dogs* and can’t believe she subjected herself to such violent misogyny on the outside chance that the actress from *Fargo* who disappeared in Episode 5 was not actually dead. But she will still be Barbie.

‘Barbie is finally going to get to experience what it’s like to be relatively normal—that there’s more to life than doing splits in a camper.’

KEN, who has loved Barbie since he was born in 1961

IF YOU LOVE BARBIE like I love her, you have to let her change. If we don’t let her change, then the Elsa dolls have won, and frankly, Elsa’s smug enough already without allowing her to officially take over the entire girls’-toy market.

Mattel obviously wants to keep Barbie around. Partly because it loves her and partly because it loves money. And in fairness the people who create and recreate Barbie would rather be paid for talking about eyeliner colors than getting jobs. Which is why they tried everything. They made a Barbie with pink hair and tattoos. They even made Barbie’s dog Taffy real plastic doggie poops. But in a world where little girls idealize Lena Dunham and Beyoncé and Nicki Minaj, it wasn’t enough to just put Barbie in a nurse costume, turn to everyone and say, “Happy now?” That iconic shape had to change.

I know about love—I have loved the same woman for a long time. Since I was zero years old! And I will keep loving her, because she herself is such a loving person—she loves all of you so much, she is willing to change herself, right along with your changing nation. Celebrate her resilience by purchasing her. If you don’t, Barbie might worry that you don’t love her. Do you want that on your conscience? ◻

**Sarah Miller is a writer and humorist*

TIME recently broke the news of Barbie’s three new body shapes: petite, tall and curvy

KEN: GETTY IMAGES; KEN AND BARBIE: MATTEL—AP

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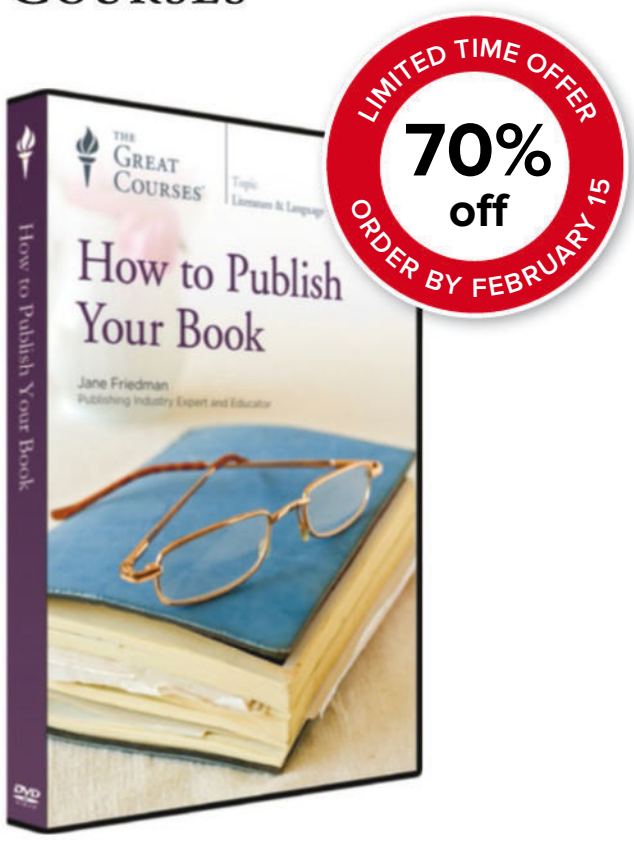

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES NACHTWEY FOR TIME

After the narrowest possible victory in Iowa, Clinton faces another challenge from Senator Bernie Sanders in New Hampshire

HER NOW?

After more than four decades in the spotlight, Hillary Clinton is finally coming into view

By Joe Klein

"IT'S THE STORIES THAT DRIVE YOUR passion. It's the people you've met along the way," Hillary Clinton was saying on the night after her microscopic victory in the Iowa caucus. "It's their worries, it's their hopes, it's their troubles that get you up in the morning." It had been a long day of campaigning in New Hampshire after only a few hours' sleep. She was still avid, though. I had asked why she suddenly seemed so animated on the stump in the days before the Iowa vote. Her normal bandwidth is measured, wonky, sometimes a touch uncertain, as if she were afraid to appear—nasty, sexist word alert—shrill. But she had tossed that all aside in Iowa, simply letting loose, shouting, fiery, even ironic sometimes. "What's going on?" I asked. "Is this some sort of a midlife crisis for you?"

She laughed, the Hillary belly laugh that she doesn't often show in public, and then got down to business, retelling a story she often told on the stump, about the woman in Clinton, Iowa—of all places—who had been paying $200 a month for a specific drug since the 1980s. Then last year the cost suddenly exploded to $14,000 per year. She had found out that the drug was provided by "a company called Valeant Pharmaceuticals, formed by a bunch of hedge-fund guys to go out and buy small drug companies, get ahold of old drugs. They're not putting any new research money in, they're not trying to find new uses for it. They just want to jack up the prices as high as they can to just make as much money as quickly as possible … It gets me outraged."

And so she'd been letting loose in her speeches, naming names—Valeant Pharmaceuticals, Johnson Controls (which was moving its headquarters overseas after participating in the Obama Administration's auto-industry bailout)—telling stories of the people she'd met along the way, and it felt good. "The campaign really seemed to be going well," she told me. Unlike her last bout in Iowa, in 2008, she was doing everything right—the ground organization, the attention to detail, the listening tour that was mocked by the press but which always provides the stories that anchor the themes she fixes on in a campaign. Bernie Sanders was gaining ground, but she felt that she had stopped the recent charge through hard work, always her trump card. The conventional wisdom was that she was going to win, narrowly, and she felt it. But she had come a whisker away from losing—and that had become the story, rather than her victory. There were rumors of internal disputes about what she should do next—go to New Hampshire, or skip it and go to Nevada or South Carolina.

On caucus night, the Clinton operation seemed a bit frayed. Her staff had announced the win prematurely. It was still up in the air when she took the stage in Des Moines, where she didn't claim victory but said she was "breathing a big sigh of relief."

NOTHING, IT SEEMS, ever comes easy for Hillary Clinton in politics. "It's always hard," she agreed. "There are issues and obstacles that I've got to get over," but, when asked, she wouldn't get specific about the obstacles. "I felt really good as we were moving through those last couple of weeks before the caucus, [but] it's a very strange election … This has a lot of psychodynamics as well as economic pressures, and there's just an incredible sense of frustration on all sides of the electorate, and for me, I could feel my campaign moving forward, picking up support, and

Clinton has become so encrusted with notoriety at this point that it's near impossible for her to get a clean shot to make her argument

I had to do every single bit of it to win."

This was the eternal Clinton dilemma: the sense of something missing, that something wasn't quite clicking, the suspicion of ulterior motives even when she was talking about things she really cared about. It was said the problem was that she was too distant and formal, and she had moved to address that in Iowa, and it sort of succeeded, but it wasn't quite enough. It seemed that Clinton had passed the point in the arc of her celebrity where she could be judged on her own merits—as an independent entity, not someone's wife; unencumbered by the quarter-century of garbage that has been thrown at her; unencumbered by the

Clinton takes selfies with supporters in Hampton, N.H., on Feb. 2

missteps she has made, which have been inflated beyond reason because every step she takes is on a very public high wire. She has become so encrusted with notoriety at this point that it's near impossible for her to get a clean shot to make her argument. Her positions on the issues, thoughtful and well argued as most of them are, are almost secondary—even her fans don't really care what she stands for, aside from the obvious stuff: health care, the rights of children and the panoply of all those other "rights" that Democrats reflexively support. As for her enemies, who are legion and rabid, everything she says or does is easily dismissed. *Hillary Clinton* is a Republican epithet. She's a liar, she's untrustworthy, she lives two steps ahead of the law—the drumbeat is so relentless that it transcends the conservative fog machine and has infected the Democratic electorate, according to exit polls. She is considered "untrustworthy" by Sanders voters, even young women.

On the weekend before the Iowa caucus, the State Department announced that some of the emails Clinton—carelessly—received on her private server were so top secret, they couldn't be released to the public, even though none were marked "classified" when she received them and one consisted of an article published in the New York *Times* (and was subsequently found to reveal some arcane security protocol). I asked her whether she could ever put the dispute to rest. She was skeptical. It was a Republican tactic, she said, which was true enough. But the email situation was a problem, part of the perpetual haze surrounding her—the sense, fair or not, that she cuts corners.

Some of this she brings on herself. She makes silly mistakes of a sort her husband never would—his mistakes were willful, prurient, outrageous. She is not outrageous, just awkward in the way cautious people sometimes are. She says she

and Bill were "dead broke" when they left the White House, which simply demonstrates how removed from reality her life in the bubble has become. She has buckraked shamelessly, both for herself and the Clinton Foundation. She has made serious public mistakes—her support for the war in Iraq and for taking out Muammar Gaddafi's government in Libya. She has been an opaque public figure; she isn't "authentic" in any demonstrable way, except for her relentless hard work, which is difficult to demonstrate in the midst of a campaign. She doesn't have a Brooklyn or an Arkansas accent. She doesn't eat at McDonald's or wear cowboy boots; her hair is not messy like Sanders'. There's no easy way to get a "handle" on her, except that she's … Hillary. Say her name and the vast majority of Americans think they know exactly who she is, for good or ill.

One of Clinton's last television ads in Iowa was a history of her advocacy for children over the past 40 years—there were pictures of her as a college student, a baby-boomer protester and then a young wife, a First Lady, Senator, Secretary of State. But the earlier pictures, especially one of her in a T-shirt, looking sideways, proudly, at the camera, were the most resonant. She once was the sort of person who would vote for Sanders in the primary; in fact, her Bernie—George McGovern—won the nomination and was clobbered in the 1972 general election. I asked her what she'd say to that younger version of herself, how she'd persuade her to vote for Hillary Clinton now. "I'd say don't ever lose your idealism," she replied, perhaps a bit stunned by the sudden memory of the Hillary Rodham who had worked for McGovern in Texas in 1972. "Stay true to your values … but also don't just hang on to the idealism at the expense of actually producing results that will improve people's lives."

MAYBE IT'S MY AGE—I'm her age—but there is something almost touching, almost poignant, about this late-in-life campaign. It's evident when her husband, who says he's seen "more yesterdays than tomorrows," talks about her. Think what you will about the exact nature of the Clinton marriage, but the intellectual bond is intense, and Bill is extremely effective when he talks about her lifetime of service: "Everything she has touched, she has made better."

Clinton campaigns with former Representative Gabby Giffords on Feb. 2 in New Hampshire

He uses the current lead-pipe water scandal in Flint, Mich., as an example. And it is a good contrast between who Sanders is and who Clinton has become. Sanders reacted the same way as the Flint native and filmmaker Michael Moore: he called for the governor of Michigan to resign. Clinton, by contrast, sent two aides to ask the mayor of Flint what could be done to help. The mayor asked Clinton to lobby the governor to expedite water funds that were languishing and to get the federal government involved. "I can't claim that she solved the problem," a Clinton staffer told me. "But she added to the pressure to get some action."

This is what Clinton brings to the table in this campaign, an idealism tempered by time and hard experience. It is the precise opposite of what Donald Trump is selling

And that is the essence of who Clinton is: "I know what it's like to be knocked down and how you dust yourself off and you get back up and you keep fighting for what you believe in," she said when I asked how she differed from the young activist who worked for McGovern. "But you do it within the process so that you can actually try to get results for people, so that you can point to our political system working. And I think that that's what we need more of right now—not less."

This is what Clinton brings to the table in this campaign, an idealism tempered by time and hard experience. She has become more realistic, and moderate, because—unlike Sanders, who has existed on the periphery of practical politics—she knows what it's like to lose (on health care, particularly) and to negotiate the small victories (children's health care) that are the guts of practical politics. It is the precise opposite of what Donald Trump—that other exemplar of the baby-boom generation—is selling. It is about patience and making the phone call to the mayor of Flint—or to the Chinese—about what can actually be done to improve things. This celebration of incrementalism is very difficult to communicate in a campaign,

under the best of circumstances. And it's virtually impossible this year, when grand notional gestures—build a wall, ban the Muslims, bomb ISIS until the sand glows—have become the currency of choice.

In a way, Clinton is the most (small-*c*) conservative in the race, standing athwart the utopian fantasies proposed by the left and right. Her gamble is that the toughness and stability she offers will slowly become more attractive in the mayhem of the campaign; her problem is that her very Clinton-ness makes the prospect of stability seem remote. Her cast of characters—Bill, the Clinton Foundation, her email server, Huma Abedin, Sidney Blumenthal, the shameless publicist David Brock—will provide constant fodder for those seeking to outrage or titillate the public. Being "Hillary Clinton" is the single greatest obstacle to her being Hillary Clinton.

But she will continue to work, and her army of supporters—most of them older now, retired teachers and lawyers, most of them women—will work their hearts out for her. You meet them at Clinton rallies. "I think the head-and-heart thing is beginning to set in now," said Patty McKenzie, a retired teacher from Hampton, N.H., who spends her weekends knocking on doors for Clinton. People were giving Clinton a second look—they loved the brashness of Sanders, their support for him had sent the message that alienation was bipartisan, but it was nut-cutting time now. In a way, the emergence of Marco Rubio, an attractive, noncrazy Republican, was working in her favor: he would be a tough opponent in the general election, the one Clinton may fear most. There was no room for Democrats to mess around.

And for once the expectations game was working in her favor: with some polls showing Sanders with implausible 20- and even 30-point leads in New Hampshire, all she had to do was pull close to have a sort of moral victory—the same sort that enabled her husband to call himself, rather goofily, the Comeback Kid after he lost New Hampshire to Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts in 1992. But Hillary Clinton would never call herself the "comeback" anything, because she never really goes away, she just keeps plugging away, pocketing any stray piece of progress that she can.

Hillary's email danger: the politics and the law

By Massimo Calabresi

To some Republicans, it looked like the smoking gun they'd been imagining for years. When the State Department released another batch of Hillary Clinton's emails in early January, her GOP opponents said they had found proof she broke the law by knowingly keeping classified intelligence on her unsecured personal server as Secretary of State. GOP candidates declared her unfit for office, and the prospect of Hillary under federal investigation apparently helped spur aides to billionaire former New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg to float word of a possible White House run.

But behind the smoke there is, so far, just more smoke. A quiet, deliberate investigation by the FBI and the Justice Department is reviewing the potential mishandling of classified information found on Clinton's server. The good news for Clinton is that the bar for legal action in cases like this is high, which makes criminal charges unlikely. The bad news for her is that the political costs may continue to mount anyway.

'Turn [it] into nonpaper w[ith] no identifying heading and send nonsecure.'

HILLARY CLINTON, telling an aide in June 2011 to forward Pentagon talking points

The latest turn in the story started back on June 16, 2011. Clinton was preparing to head to Guatemala and Jamaica, and the Middle East was a mess. A top aide, Jake Sullivan, arranged for a Defense Department expert to send Clinton some talking points on the situation in the region. When the Pentagon had trouble forwarding the material via secure fax, Clinton emailed Sullivan and suggested he "turn [it] into nonpaper w[ith] no identifying heading and send nonsecure."

Michael Mukasey, George W. Bush's former Attorney General, writing in the *Wall Street Journal,* said that email showed Clinton's "guilty state of mind," which is the hard-to-prove standard for conviction in some cases of criminal mishandling of intelligence. Clinton's campaign says it shows the opposite. A "nonpaper," one campaign official points out, is a diplomatic document that has been stripped of identifying material so that it can be circulated to counterparts in negotiations. People "mistook" what she was asking for, the official says. In any case, State says no such "nonpaper" email ultimately was sent to Clinton; a secure fax was.

Justice rarely moves quickly on these kinds of probes, and with more than 1,600 work emails from Clinton's private server found to have classified material in them, there is plenty for the FBI to review. Investigators will pay close attention to 22 emails intelligence officials say contain top-secret information that was not originally generated by State but by agencies like the CIA or the National Security Agency. The FBI might interview diplomats who mishandled that information and then, perhaps, the Clinton aides who passed it along to her on her private server.

But only then would a discussion begin at the highest levels of the Justice Department over whether to pursue any legal action. A conviction would have to be "a lead-pipe cinch," says one former top Justice official who is no fan of Clinton's. Investigators have been collecting documents, but there is no sign that federal agents have interviewed anyone close to Clinton yet. Several individuals involved in the case tell TIME they have not been interviewed by the FBI or the Justice Department.

Still, the email affair will continue to dog Clinton as she contends with Bernie Sanders in the early primaries. The judge overseeing the Freedom of Information Act case that forced the release of 44,818 pages of emails so far ordered the State Department to release the remaining 7,600 pages by the end of January. State, struggling to find and remove classified information from them before doing so, asked for a one-month extension. That would mean the final batch of emails could come out right before Super Tuesday, when Democratic voters in 11 states go to the polls. Even then, the FBI probe could continue for months. Only when Justice is ready to go public with its findings will the smoke around Clinton's emails finally clear.

Florida Senator Marco Rubio finished a strong third in Iowa, outperforming his old mentor, former governor Jeb Bush

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After a wild preseason, GOP voters take sides

By David Von Drehle

PHOTOGRAPHS BY NATALIE KEYSSAR FOR TIME

NAGEMENT

ALBERT EINSTEIN WAS ONCE ASKED why physicists were able to devise nuclear weapons but politicians were hard-pressed to control them. "Because politics is more difficult than physics," Einstein replied.

He was onto something, judging from the opening battles of the Republican presidential fray. Consider this conundrum: billionaire promoter Donald Trump captures thousands more votes than any previous Republican candidate in the history of the Iowa caucuses. Yuge, right? Not so. Trump's big number equals political failure, in the calculations of many analysts, because Texas Senator Ted Cruz—he of the apparently fading poll numbers—confounded forecasters by racking up even more. Meanwhile Florida Senator Marco Rubio's third-place finish was, according to that slippery variable known as the Expectations Game, the biggest win of the night.

As Lewis Carroll, a mathematician himself, might put it, "Curiouser and curiouser." Neurosurgeon Ben Carson won 9% of the vote for fourth place, as rumors buzzed that the doctor might soon fold up his tent. (Cruz apologized for his campaign's part in spreading the tale, which Carson angrily denied.) Ohio Governor John Kasich failed to break 2%, even as analysts continued to discuss seriously his prospects for success. Does this add up? No more than the Jeb Bush money equation. The lagging Establishment scion's super PAC spent about $2,845 on ads alone for each of the 5,238 votes he won while finishing in sixth place.

There is a bigness to the politics this year that has jumbled everyone's math. Voters, by large margins, tell pollsters that they don't like the way things are going in America and the world. But instead of turning off, they are engaging at levels unseen in recent memory. An astounding 24 million viewers tuned in to the first debate on a lazy Thursday evening in August. That's nearly a World Series final plus a blockbuster *Downton Abbey*. Some 180,000 Iowa Republicans turned out to vote in their first-in-the-nation caucuses—half again more than the previous record. Legions of small donors are fueling campaigns on both the right and the left, and thousands of people turn out for massive events in modest-sized towns.

BIGNESS IS NOT the Republican way. The traditional GOP nominating process was tweedy and predictable. Each field had a front runner, typically drawn from the ranks of past runners-up. A Reagan follows a Ford. A Bush follows a Reagan. A Dole follows a Bush. The drama opens with the heir presumptive piling up cash and endorsements that fend off an inevitable challenge in Act II from the populist right wing. The ensuing competition builds character. But the challenger never really has a chance to win, because just as he emerges from the evangelical embrace of Iowa, he runs out of money, and the crown settles on the chosen brow.

For nearly half a century, this order has seemed as predictable as an episode of *Law & Order*. Now it is being blown up in an explosion of democracy. And many of the hypotheses that have accounted for political gravity and thrust are suddenly up for grabs. In a world where the Iowa GOP caucus winner is on record opposing ethanol subsidies, the laws of political physics have been repealed.

THE LEADING EDGE of a major blizzard scattered the candidates from Iowa even as the last votes were being tallied. Flying high aboard a chartered jet was the resurrected Cruz, delighting in the fact that his political obituary was so widely written in the days leading up to the voting. This election, he assured his followers, "is gonna be decided by the grassroots," not "the Washington cartel" or "the media." Cruz is the polished product of Princeton University and Harvard Law; he attacks the elite with a ruthlessness steeped in familiarity.

The fact that a novice candidate with a half-baked platform and a hair-trigger mouth could draw more than 45,000 votes was a political sensation

How did he become the first candidate to survive Trump's barrage of increasingly pointed attacks? The two share some common ground: both are solo artists in a team sport. They're provocateurs who treat party bosses like punching bags and distill frustration with the status quo into 101-proof political white lightning. But Cruz's campaign is ultimately aimed at the head, not the gut. It's rooted in the promise that he alone is a pure conservative, with a proven record of standing on principle. Trump's is predicated on the idea that he's a winner who can't be bought, a hard-nosed negotiator who will reverse the nation's sliding fortunes.

Their tactics match their personalities. Cruz has built a traditional campaign, with an expansive grassroots organization and precise, data-driven targeting. Trump's is trying something entirely new, a social-media concoction of fame, shock and a knack for feeding Twitter. One is a former Supreme Court lawyer; the other a former reality-TV star. Cruz's stump speech is scripted down to the pauses for emphasis; Trump blends self-praise with exaggerated insults in a torrential stream of consciousness. If Trump fans love his pugilistic spirit, Cruz supporters are drawn to his absolutist philosophy. His closing argument lays out the ideological contrasts. "A vote for Marco Rubio is a vote for amnesty," he says. "And a vote for Donald Trump is a vote for Obamacare." It follows that he would never vote for either.

And while Trump's ground game was a black box—perhaps an empty box at that—Cruz built the most sophisticated field operation in the state. He had more than 1,500 precinct captains, a long roster of influential pastors' endorsements and some 12,000 volunteers on the ground, from as far away as Montana and Ireland. Where other candidates might put three

Senator Ted Cruz won the Iowa caucuses the old-fashioned way, by out-organizing his opponents

events on their agendas, Cruz prided himself on packing in five or six. At each appearance, he collected names and contact info for every voter in the room. He completed a "full Grassley"—the grueling tour named for veteran Senator Chuck Grassley in which the supplicant visited all 99 Iowa counties—and wherever his pilgrimage took him, he courted the powerful and well-organized evangelical bloc that makes the Hawkeye State ripe for conservative aspirants. He pitched his cause in a seamless patter worthy of Professor Harold Hill in River City, asking unabashedly for every voter to bring along not one but nine more.

The obit writers, on the other hand, were watching polls, and most of these surveys failed to capture the fruits of Cruz's labor. His volunteers reportedly placed 27,000 phone calls to potential voters on a single day of the final weekend. Cruz obliterated the existing record for votes in Iowa's GOP caucus and thereby rattled conventional assumptions about a ceiling on the Texan's hopes in New Hampshire.

No nonincumbent Republican has ever won both Iowa and New Hampshire in the same primary season. One state favors the pious and earnest candidate; the other has a soft spot for boundary breakers with a dash of pizzazz. But Cruz alighted in the Granite State aware that New Hampshire is home to plenty of fierce conservatives. Patrick Buchanan, with half the political skills of Cruz, thrived there in the 1990s on a platform of red meat and rifles. "We've had a very methodical, slow-building crescendo," said Jeff Roe, Cruz's campaign manager. After New Hampshire, Cruz would be rolling toward the South Carolina primary on Feb. 20, with further fields of conservative fervor ready to be harvested March 1 in the so-called SEC primary dominated by Deep South states.

What makes this scenario plausible is Cruz's ideological purity—to get to his right, you'd have to seize a federal wildlife refuge—backed up by his broad base of donors, who range from megacheck millionaires to small-money crowdfunders. Cruz boasted roughly $19 million on hand at the end of January. And he knows how to stretch each dollar. When the air conditioners in his Houston headquarters shut each evening at 6 p.m. , the stingy candidate makes do with fans.

Trump reached New Hampshire later in the day, after a pause in New York to recalibrate at home. He was annoyed at losing the Expectations Game. "We got the biggest vote in the history of a primary in Iowa, by, like, 60,000 people extra. I'm not going to say that was me, but it was me." But with his braggadocio and his passion for polls, Trump had brought it on himself. Quoting Trump's own boasts with sly malice, New Jersey Governor Chris Christie turned the knife, saying, "The guy who does nothing but win lost last night."

FOR ALL THE SAME REASONS that Cruz did well, Trump should have seen it coming. He invested neither the time nor the money to build a grassroots operation. People thronged to his rallies, but he let them melt away by the thousands, with little direct follow-up. His outreach to the evangelicals was perfunctory. Trump stumbled when asked his favorite Bible verse and whether he sought God's forgiveness. He reportedly confused the communion and collection plates during a visit to church.

As for the polls that showed him opening a lead on a fading Cruz, the numbers

failed to catch the self-inflicted damage Trump wrought by boycotting the last pre-Iowa debate and staging a rally for veterans instead. Pollsters, whose surveys continued through the final weekend, saw a drop in Trump's support after the debate gamble.

Still, Trump had a point. The fact that a novice candidate with a half-baked platform and a hair-trigger mouth could draw more than 45,000 votes (the previous record was Mike Huckabee's, at nearly 41,000) was a political sensation. Before the caucuses, the question was: Would his fans come out to vote? The answer was emphatically yes.

As he dropped into New Hampshire aboard his Trump jet, the disruptive billionaire prepared to vindicate his digital-age candidacy. He briefly adopted a modest tone with interviewers: "I'm very happy with a second-place finish in Iowa," he told one. Then he reverted to form by lashing out at Cruz. By stoking the rumors of Carson's surrender, Trump charged, the Texan "stole" first place—"illegally," he added, before erasing that extra dash of insult. The stakes for New Hampshire were higher than before: with a lead of 21 points in the RealClearPolitics average of Granite State polls, there was no room to doubt his position as top dog, but Iowa had put his ability to close the deal in question. "Trump's candidacy is based on the notion that he himself is a winner who is strong and knows how to defeat his enemies," says Republican pollster Kristen Soltis Anderson. "Underperforming or losing in New Hampshire would undercut that narrative."

Trump had, arguably, already accomplished more than any previous amateur candidate. He showed the power of an Internet-savvy celebrity to snatch the political agenda from traditional gatekeepers in the media and at party headquarters. New Hampshire became a test of his gumption, his true commitment. Would he dig in for a long battle through the spring, or would he start scripting his exit? Minus the aura of an unstoppable force, he faced a drawn-out battle for control of the Republican Party—what is known in Trump's world as a hostile takeover. Don't imagine that money doesn't matter to a rich man. Trump was already showing signs of spending fatigue, noting in a post-Iowa tweet that

Second-place finisher Donald Trump tweeted that Cruz "didn't win Iowa, he stole it"

self-funding is "not worth it!" But after months of boasting about his wealth, he might not have an alternative. Aggrieved working-class Americans will attend his rallies; they will turn out to vote for him. But would they be willing to help pay his campaign bills?

RUBIO REACHED NEW HAMPSHIRE by dawn and made a beeline for the nearest group of coffee-drinking voters. The cat was out of the bag. His strong close in Iowa lifted his profile above the mass of candidates vying for the traditional Republican role of inevitable nominee. Now he must run flat out to escape their grasp, lest they pull him back down.

Insiders refer to his rivals en masse as "the governors," and in the old political calculus, that was as good a credential as a would-be President could have. Not this time around. Ohio's Kasich, New Jersey's Christie and former governor Bush of Florida all limped into New Hampshire with nothing to show from Iowa and long odds against them. Like swimsuit salesmen in Antarctica, what they are peddling—insider experience and sober judgment—is not what a fed-up electorate wants to buy.

No matter how unpredictable the season has been, each surprise is followed by a new round of confident predictions. Perhaps the smart money now is not wagering at all

It was a measure of their shared plight that they aimed more fire at Rubio than at Cruz and Trump; they had to win the skirmish before they could fight the decisive battle. Christie, for example, needled Rubio in classic Jersey style, calling attention to the Senator's small stature and insecure youth. Bush, by contrast, took a more well-mannered approach to Rubio's comparative inexperience. He published an open letter from leading Florida Republicans.

But the near enemy was likely gaining strength. Rubio aides projected that his Iowa showing would earn him a 5% bump in the New Hampshire polls; Rubio certainly acted as if he was in command. "I didn't get in this race to fight with other Republicans," he said, shrugging off his foes. He preferred to rally Republicans to beat Democrat Hillary Clinton.

So how long can the governors

continue? That's another political calculation in search of a solution. Loyalists insist that the governors have ample resources to battle beyond New Hampshire and deep into the month of March. If anything, the bumper crop of votes and money in Iowa fed the speculation that this race could go all the way to the GOP convention. But party leaders want desperately to close ranks against the Trump and Cruz insurgencies. And if any candidates are going to heed the wishes of traditional party leaders, it would be the governors; they are, after all, members of the club.

"New Hampshire gives everyone a second chance," said pedigreed GOP insider Henry Barbour with evaporating patience. "But if we are going to win the White House, the field will need to narrow quickly after that."

No matter how unpredictable the season has been, each surprise is followed by a new round of confident predictions. We are a species attuned to patterns and plans, which is one of the reasons physics is easier than politics. The experts adjusted to the Iowa results by spotlighting Rubio, shorting Trump and projecting an operatic finish between two rookie Senators with Tea Party credentials and Cuban roots. A Presidential primary is a process of elimination, says veteran campaign consultant Scott Reed. "You win the nomination by taking people out one at a time." And Day One of actual voting left Cruz and Rubio looking like hunters while the others looked more like prey.

"The betting money right now is on Senator Rubio," one big-dollar bundler confided. And it certainly sounded like a fact-based analysis—until you factored in the knowledge that this same donor put his chips last year on another candidate entirely. Then the bets were on Bush. Another day, they favored Trump. Perhaps the smart money now is not wagering at all, not when the storm surge of democracy is plowing up the race course. Politics can be as unruly as human whim and passion, and bring us to a moment when, perhaps, all bets are off. —*With reporting by* ALEX ALTMAN, TESSA BERENSON, SAM FRIZELL AND JAY NEWTON-SMALL/DES MOINES, IOWA; ZEKE MILLER/CONCORD, N.H.; *and* PHILIP ELLIOTT/MILFORD, N.H. □

Marco Rubio prospered by lying low. Can it last?

By Zeke J. Miller / Exeter, N.H.

When Marco Rubio landed in New Hampshire after the Iowa caucuses, he looked more like a new father than the surprise third-place Iowa finisher. "Turnout was massive," he declared at a diner in Manchester, all smiles and handshakes. Someone eating breakfast tried to give him celebratory cigars, an offer he could not refuse. "Let's hide them, guys," he said to reporters. "I don't want my kids to see."

No candidate in the Republican race does coy quite like Rubio, and no campaign has operated with such stealthy, even efficiency. When he entered the race in April 2015, the big Establishment money had gone to his former mentor, Jeb Bush. The Tea Party that Rubio once claimed had gravitated to Ted Cruz. And no one had foreseen the Donald Trump phenomenon.

'Sometimes when people run into adversity, they don't react well.'

MARCO RUBIO, on attacks by his rivals

But Rubio's aides scripted a race that called for him to lie low for months, spending most of 2015 at fundraisers and tightly controlled events with minimal press exposure. His strategists didn't want to take on Trump or Bush. They bet that Rubio could wait out his rivals and depend on his broad, youthful appeal and consistently strong debate performances to rise above the pack. He wasn't a grinder like Bush. Nor was he a live wire for conservative fury like Cruz. He was running, like Barack Obama in 2008, as a potential inspirer in chief. All he needed was to catch fire at just the right time.

And that he did. In the final Des Moines *Register* Iowa poll, Rubio registered 15% along likely caucusgoers. Days later, he took a notable 23% of the GOP vote, only a few thousand votes shy of Trump's 24% and an order of magnitude ahead of the other candidates acceptable to mainline Republicans. Exit polls showed he dominated the late-breaking deciders. "I don't play expectations games," Rubio told a reporter in Manchester.

The truth is closer to the opposite. In the days before the caucus, Rubio's top strategist, Todd Harris, would start to cuss when reporters even suggested his candidate could come in second. Now the strategy has shifted, and Rubio's staff have begun to argue inevitability. "I think a lot of those people who are currently supporting other candidates are going to quickly start to realize that we can't afford to be divided anymore," said Rubio fundraiser Adam Hasner about the big-money donor class.

The remaining governors challenging Rubio in the party establishment lane plan to make New Hampshire their last stand. As Rubio was celebrating, New Jersey Governor Chris Christie dubbed him "the boy in the bubble." Bush dismissed him as a "backbench" Senator, and Ohio Governor John Kasich's campaign said Rubio had no record of accomplishment. Rubio brushed them off like flies. "Sometimes when people run into adversity, they don't react well and they say things they maybe will regret later," he told reporters.

What is unknown is how he will perform under the new spotlight. Rubio has traveled the country in a scripted fashion designed to prevent embarrassments. Until recently, he surrounded himself with a phalanx of staffers wearing matching fleeces and Secret Service–style earpieces and walkie-talkies. His events are meticulously staged, with rope or barricades keeping supporters and the press from approaching the candidate—an unusual sight in the freewheeling early states—and he almost always speaks from a small platform to make himself look bigger. "It's O.K., you can take that," his communications director told him at a recent event in Iowa, after a reporter shouted a question at him.

At the diner in Manchester, a group of Bernie Sanders supporters tried to corral Rubio with a question about nuclear disarmament. At first the triumphant candidate moved to respond. "Let me say hi to these people," he said. But his protective staff waved him off. "I'll see you guys in a second," Rubio said, never to return.

THE THIN GREEN LINE

Inside the fight over fossil fuels in the Pacific Northwest

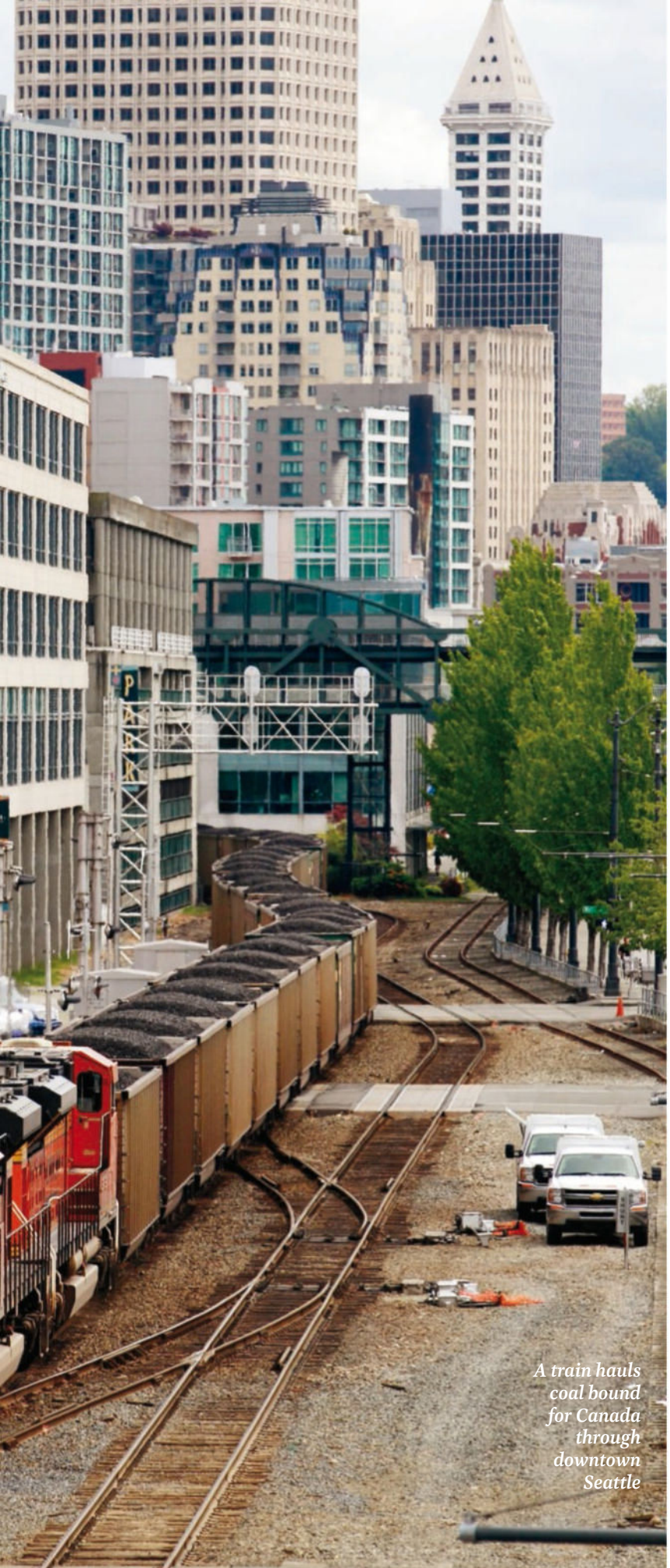
By Alex Altman/Portland, Ore.

ROADS DON'T GET MUCH PRETTIER THAN SECTIONS OF U.S. HIGHway 12 in the northern Rockies. Near Kooskia, Idaho, it's a narrow two-lane byway that winds above the Clearwater and Lochsa rivers, framed by craggy bluffs of Douglas fir and ponderosa pine. For the past few years, global energy companies have been fighting to use this remote sliver of asphalt to carry oversize industrial equipment to mining sites in the interior U.S. and Canada. Neighbors weren't keen on a scenic patch of wilderness's becoming a corridor for so-called megaloads, which can be nearly the length of a football field and too tall to fit beneath interstate overpasses.

In conservative Idaho County, residents toted signs blasting the AXLE OF EVIL and flooded a Forest Service website with so many comments that the system crashed. Locals like Linwood Laughy, 73, plunged into environmental activism for the first time. "It just grew like a snowball," says Laughy, who runs a blog called Fighting Goliath from his home perched above the road. "I learned the value of collective action."

So did Goliath. In 2010, an ExxonMobil subsidiary tried to move 207 megaloads along Highway 12 to its oil-sands mine in the Canadian province of Alberta. Only one even made it through Idaho. Waylaid by a court challenge, it sat parked along the side of the road near Lolo, Montana, for 13 months under round-the-clock guard. Cost overruns for the Alberta project ran to some $2 billion. The next year, protesters turned a ConocoPhillips megaload's nine-hour drive into a 91-day odyssey. In a dramatic midnight confrontation during the summer of

PHOTOGRAPH BY ELAINE THOMPSON



A train hauls coal bound for Canada through downtown Seattle

2013, Nez Percé tribe members and their neighbors formed a human blockade to stop a convoy bound for the Alberta tar sands.

Highway 12 had become a pivotal stretch of what some environmental activists call the Thin Green Line. It's an imaginary barrier, drawn by national environmental groups and manned by local activists, that is designed to stop the construction of new pipelines, coal trains and other facilities that would make it easier to export fossil fuels to countries overseas. The line has outposts from rural Idaho to East Texas, where in 2012 tar-sands opponents barricaded themselves inside a wedge of oil pipe. But the heart of the Thin Green Line is the Pacific Northwest, where environmentalists are battling energy companies to shape America's climate future.

Since 2010, coal, oil and gas companies have been hoping to turn the northwest Pacific coast into a new portal for energy exports to Asia. Nearly 30 major fossil-fuel infrastructure projects—including coal and oil export terminals, propane pipelines, liquefied natural gas plants and petrochemical refineries—have been proposed in Oregon and Washington. Industry groups promise billions in capital investment and thousands of new jobs in struggling corners of the region. On the other side, environmental groups like the Sierra Club and 350.org have marshaled an unlikely army of faith groups, Indian tribes, concerned physicians, conservative ranchers, not-in-my-backyard farmers, local crusaders and politicians from both parties. And so far, the environmentalists have won.

The strength of the Thin Green Line is a reminder that activists have successfully moved the fight over fossil fuels from the point of initial extraction to more far-flung points of processing and export. And it comes in the wake of the long-awaited decision by President Obama to reject the building of the Keystone XL pipeline, which would have run from oil fields in the northern plains to refineries on the Gulf Coast. As energy prices fall and opposition mounts, the cost and

hassle of taking carbon out of the ground becomes increasingly prohibitive. "The Pacific Northwest has become a remarkable battleground in the fight over the future," says climate activist Bill McKibben. "This is the bottleneck, and they've drawn the line."

THE STRUGGLE in the Pacific Northwest is driven by geology and geography. Coal remains the dominant energy source in the U.S., supplying nearly 40% of our power. But its grip is slackening; as recently as 2005, the figure was more than 50%, and tough climate regulations by the Obama Administration will likely reduce that number quickly. By 2010, the industry determined that its future lay in Asia, with its lax emission standards and huge demand for cheap coal. The prospect of exporting abundant reserves from the huge, 100-ft. seams in the Powder River Basin of Wyoming and Montana looked like a lifeline for an industry in flux. "Coal's best days are ahead," Peabody Energy, the St. Louis–based coal giant, declared in its 2009 annual report.

Moving Powder River Basin coal to Asia isn't easy. It gets loaded into railcars, which chug through rural communities to West Coast ports, where it's deposited on bulk ships that carry it across the Pacific. It's a massive industrial enterprise in a region philosophically opposed to the product. By the time the fossil-fuel industry began targeting the Pacific Northwest, Oregon and Washington had already decided to shut down existing coal-fired power plants.

But the Thin Green Line has held. More than half of those proposals have been killed or delayed. The rest face deeply uncertain futures. "What's happening in the Northwest is like a shutdown defense," says Eric de Place, policy director of the Sightline Institute, a Seattle-based think tank that opposes fossil-fuel-infrastructure projects in the region.

Activists use different tactics, from demonstrations to public-records requests to lawsuits that trap the projects in bureaucratic thickets. Even some conservatives came to question whether the economic benefits offset the cost in quality of life. "We're very pro-jobs and pro-exports," says Sean Guard, the mayor of Washougal, Wash., a timber town where the city council, weary of fleets of trains and lengthy traffic delays, passed a resolution expressing "deep concern" about the construction of a nearby oil export terminal. "This isn't necessarily about the commodity on the trains. It's about what it does to our community."

The steep decline in energy prices has played a role as well. The price per ton of coal, battered by oversupply and the dwindling costs of competing fuels, has plunged from a peak of $132 in 2011 to $43 in December. China, which burned more than 3.3 billion tons in 2009, is using less as its economy slows. As a result, some of the companies that bet on U.S. coal exports as a savior were crippled. Peabody, which began planning a coal terminal near Bellingham, Wash., in 2011, has seen its stock plummet nearly 90% since February 2015. The Australian firm formerly known as Ambre Energy, which invested in both the Bellingham proposal and a similar project down the coast in Longview, Wash., was forced to sell off its stake. Wyoming-based Arch Coal, a partner in the Longview terminal, filed for bankruptcy on Jan. 11 in a bid to shave $4.5 billion in debt from its balance sheet.

THE UNLIKELY ALLIANCES are visible in communities like Longview. An old timber town built by a lumber tycoon in the 1920s, this working-class enclave of 35,000 has never strayed much from its industrial roots. The engine of the economy is a factory-studded port that moves everything from pulp to coking coal down a deepwater channel to the Pacific. When it was first proposed, prospects looked bright for the $650 million project to build a major West Coast coal-export facility. Longview sits at the junction of a rail line and the Columbia River, and it has high unemployment and a long history of welcoming heavy industry. The company running the facility, Millennium Bulk Terminals, reclaimed a brownfield that had been the site of an aluminum smelter and forged a partnership with eager local unions. It held open houses, passed out company swag and delivered PowerPoint presentations to show how bread-loaf-shaped piles of coal are safely funneled into railcars and sprayed with sealant to prevent dust from escaping. "This is huge to us," says Mike Bridges, president of the local building-trades union.

The economy and the environment have a complex relationship in Washington. At least 1 in 4 jobs in the Evergreen State is tied to trade, one of the highest ratios in the U.S. And while prosperous urban and coastal enclaves are pushing back against the projects, hardscrabble communities could use the infusion of middle-class jobs they would bring. "I really believe in the economic value of this," says Lee Newgent, executive secretary of the Washington State Building and Construction Trades Council, AFL-CIO. "We are in no way climate deniers, but we think the real conversation should be around phasing out carbon fuels on a timeline."

Portland activists hang from a bridge July 30 to block an icebreaker's path to Alaska

At times the coal firms made it harder on themselves. As the Longview project was getting under way, a records request filed by an environmental group called Columbia Riverkeeper revealed that executives had concealed the scope of their ambitions. They told the community the port would export about 5 million tons of coal per year. Internal emails revealed they planned to ship up to 60 million. "Expansion plans should not be made available," an executive warned in a message outlining a strategy to "mitigate the political risk." Millennium employees stopped wearing their badges in public after getting hassled at the grocery store.

A permitting process that normally lasts about 18 months has now stretched on for four years. The future of the project remains uncertain; Millennium still hasn't won permission to build the docks. Elected officials from Montana and Wyoming, where the coal is mined and creates hundreds of jobs, came to Longview to lobby locals on behalf of the project and left empty-handed, threatening lawsuits. "It's a big deal," Kris Johnson, president of the Association of Washington Business, says of the jobs at stake. "This would be an infusion of infrastructure that spurs the economy and lowers the unemployment rate."

Millennium executives say public opinion is turning in their favor and dismiss arguments that the projects will wreck the climate. "Asia is going to burn coal with or without us," vice president Wendy Hutchinson says, as she drives a company SUV amid coal silos in Longview. "It just doesn't make a difference in the big picture."

Environmental activists see hypocrisy between private American firms that want to export the nation's fossil fuels and a federal government that is trying, at least in some of its policies, to curb its use at home—especially since the carbon emitted by coal has the same climate impact no matter where it's burned. "We can't have it both ways," says Daphne Wysham, a Portland-based activist who directs the climate program at the Center for Sustainable Economy. "We can't be claiming climate leadership while ensuring the rest of the world is hooked on coal."

PORTLAND MAYOR CHARLIE HALES learned that lesson the hard way. A former lobbyist and transportation planner, he keeps a plaque on his desk that broadcasts a tongue-in-cheek mantra: BECAUSE I SAID SO. In this liberal mecca, Hales tries to balance economic and environmental concerns. When the Pembina Pipeline Corp. announced plans in 2014 to build a $500 million facility for propane exports in Portland, Hales issued a statement celebrating the "great news."

But local green groups bristled. They disrupted council hearings and plastered signs around the Rose City with an unflattering image of "Fossil Fuel Charlie." The mayor struggled with fundraising. Under pressure, Hales decided to kill the Pembina project. "The scale of the public revulsion at the idea of Portland being a big fossil-fuel spigot aimed at the world" changed his thinking, Hales explains in an interview in his office at city hall. "It was a case of there go the people, I'd better follow them."

Facing the prospect of a tough campaign against a well-funded challenger, Hales dropped his re-election bid this fall. Now he's focused on burnishing his environmental legacy. On a chilly Wednesday in November, Hales introduced a resolution to block all new energy-export projects like Pembina. On the day of the scheduled vote, the sidewalk beneath the council chamber was crowded with throngs of environmentalists in telltale red garb, toting signs that read COAL, OIL, GAS: NONE SHALL PASS. The city council later approved the measure unanimously, making Portland the first U.S. city to take such a step. "It's highly significant," says McKibben. "They're trying to stop the fossil-fuel industry in its tracks."

Green groups see hypocrisy in the U.S.'s exporting a fuel whose use the government is trying to curb at home

Portland's move is likely the shape of things to come elsewhere. Hales is lobbying other West Coast mayors to adopt his blueprint for stopping other energy export and processing operations. Oregon Senator Jeff Merkley and Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders introduced a bill that would block the federal government from issuing new leases for oil, gas and coal extraction on public lands. In August, the White House unveiled a sweeping set of emission regulations, called the Clean Power Plan, that imposes the first-ever national limits on carbon pollution from power plants. In December, 195 nations gathered at a climate summit in Paris to strike a landmark pact designed to curb greenhouse-gas emissions. On Jan. 15, the Obama Administration announced a moratorium on new leases to mine coal on public lands, punctuating a string of successes for environmentalists.

Late last year, Congress passed, and Obama signed, legislation that lifted a 40-year ban on exporting crude oil. Still, the broad trend suggests the U.S. may be moving away from the easy sale of extracted carbon abroad. Meanwhile, the continued decline in energy prices is making many of the export and processing projects harder to justify. And so, at the moment, the Thin Green Line holds. To those manning the outposts, nothing less than human existence is on the line. If the energy industry can hook Asian markets on cheap American coal, "then we're done, climate-wise," says K.C. Golden, a senior policy adviser at Climate Solutions in Seattle. "That, not to put it too frankly, is how the world ends." ◻

PREVIOUS PAGES: AP; THESE PAGES: DON RYAN—AP

Isabel and Moises Albuquerque with their son at a rehab center in Recife that helps children with microcephaly

Zika's Toll

A virus with links to birth defects sends fear through the Americas ***By Bryan Walsh and Alexandra Sifferlin/Recife, Brazil***

PHOTOGRAPH BY SEBASTIAN LISTE FOR TIME

DR. VANESSA VAN DER LINDEN DIDN'T think much of it when, last August, she saw a newborn baby boy with a birth defect called microcephaly. The abnormally small head and stunted brain development seen in microcephaly is often disabling and sometimes life-threatening. But it is fortunately rare—Van Der Linden, a neurologist at Barão de Lucena hospital in the northeastern Brazilian city of Recife, estimates she had seen it in about one infant per month, on average, prior to that August.

Yet that boy's microcephaly was particularly severe, and when brain scans on the infant ruled out genetic or common infectious causes, like rubella, Van Der Linden's suspicions began to rise. As the months wore on, she saw more and more cases, including three one day in a single hospital shift. "It's not normal," she says now. "Sometimes we go four months and don't see a baby with microcephaly. It was very strange."

Van Der Linden wasn't the only doctor in Recife noticing something was odd. Her mother Ana, a neurologist who works at a different hospital, called her daughter to tell her that she had seen seven babies with microcephaly in a single day. And there was something else. Most of the mothers reported that they'd come down with a strange rash early in their pregnancy. It was nothing severe, nothing they would have thought to tell their doctor about had they not been desperate to figure out what later happened to their babies. But to Van Der Linden, who wondered if a new infectious agent might have been causing the microcephaly, it was a clue. Since then, over 4,000 cases have been reported in Brazil.

Dengue and chikungunya—two mosquito-borne illnesses that Van Der Linden had considered—cause symptoms much more severe than what the mothers had reported. But there was another mosquito-borne disease, one that was new to Brazil but had hardly registered with doctors, in part because its symptoms rarely added up to more than a rash. It was called Zika.

On Feb. 1, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the cluster of birth defects linked to Zika a public-health emergency of international concern, only the fourth time the global health body had made such a declaration—the first since Ebola in 2014 and the first for a non-deadly disease. But by that time the fear—and Zika itself—was already spreading. Since the country's first reported case in May 2015, an estimated 1.5 million Brazilians have caught Zika, which is chiefly spread by the bite of the tenacious *Aedes aegypti* mosquito—active throughout much of the western hemisphere—while the number of microcephaly cases in 2015 increased 20-fold.

The virus has since spread to 28 countries and territories in Latin America, according to WHO, and there have been more than 30 scattered cases so far in the U.S.—though no evidence yet of sustained transmission within the country. Though the link between Zika infection and microcephaly has yet to be conclusively proved, and though it appears that not every pregnant woman who contracts Zika gives birth to a baby with microcephaly, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) has already warned pregnant women to postpone traveling to countries with ongoing Zika transmission—which is virtually everywhere south of the U.S.

Some of those affected countries have gone even further. Hard-hit El Salvador, with more than 3,000 suspected cases of Zika in 2016, has recommended that women put off getting pregnant for two years. This is not the first time scientists have witnessed the connection between the birth defect and Zika; they saw it, in retrospect, in French Polynesia, where there was a small number of cases in 2013. But it's the first time it's been seen in such large numbers.

"The evidence is growing, and it's getting strong," said Dr. Margaret Chan, director-general of WHO, at a press conference on Feb. 1. "So I accepted, even on microcephaly alone, that it is sufficient to call an emergency. We need a coordinated international response."

That's when the machinery of the international health system—which proved clunky during the first months of 2014's Ebola outbreak in West Africa, an outbreak that ultimately killed more than 11,000 people—began to move into place. The stakes are high. There's no vaccine for Zika, nor even a widely available diagnostic test. Zika, which was discovered in a forest of the same name in Uganda in 1947, was never considered much of a threat. No

A GLOBAL VIRUS

The mosquito-borne Zika virus has exploded in Latin America and is threatening the U.S.

KEY TO MAP

Risk of Zika transmission through *Aedes* mosquitoes

None | Seasonal | Year-round

Final destinations of travelers departing Brazil

- 1,001–10,000
- 10,001–50,000
- 50,001–150,000
- 150,001–300,000
- Over 300,000

28

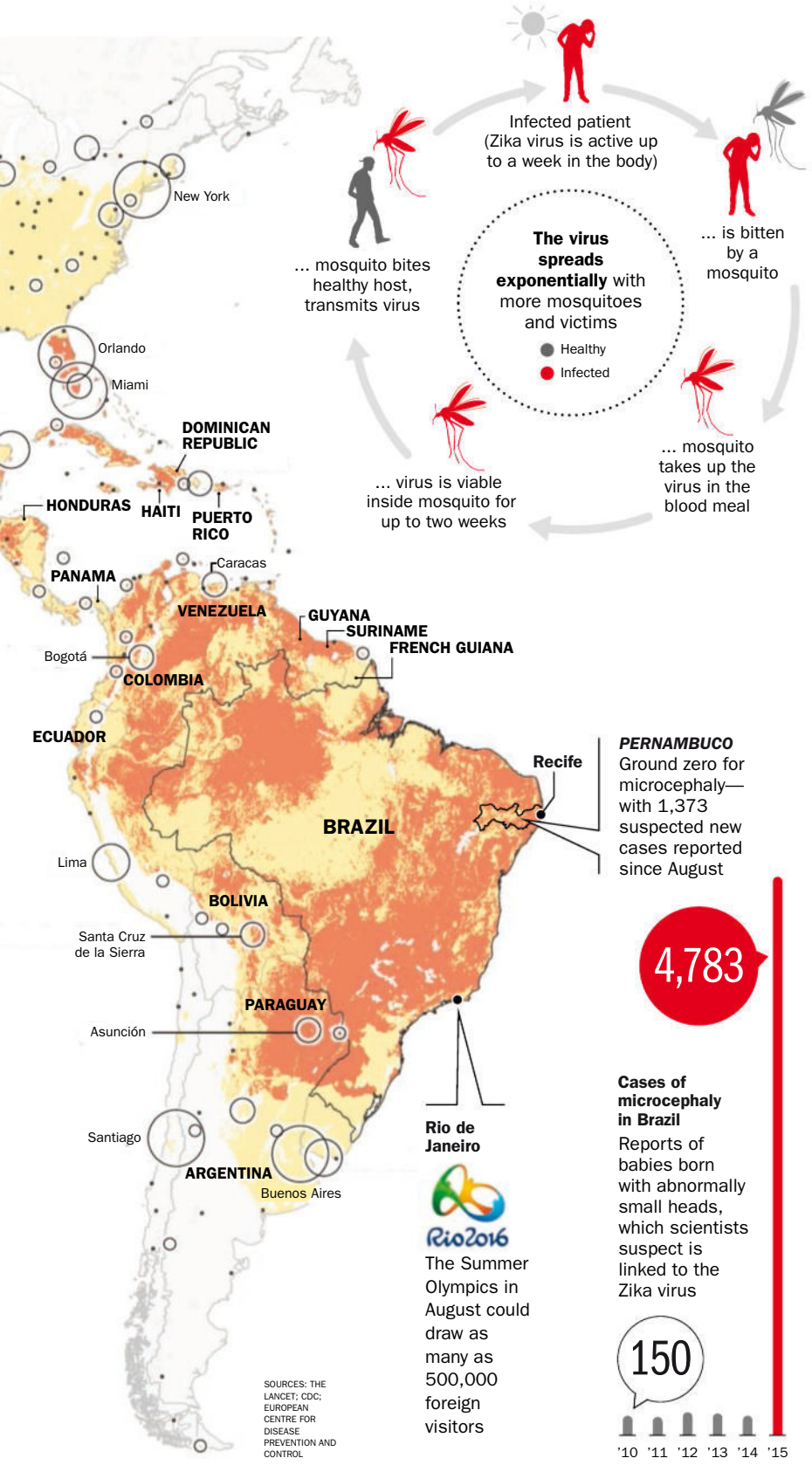
Countries and territories reporting infections

1.5 million

People likely infected in Brazil

3–4 million

Expected additional infections in the Americas over the next year



one dies from the virus, and 4 out of 5 people who contract the disease never show any symptoms. But the troubling new link between Zika and a life-altering birth defect seen in unprecedented numbers of infants has set off alarm bells.

Just how big a danger Zika poses is unknown. First, the link between Zika and microcephaly—or other health problems, including Guillain-Barré syndrome, a potentially debilitating autoimmune condition—is strong, according to leading experts, but it's still a "link," not a proven cause. With mosquitos endemic across the Americas, those are uncomfortable odds. Second, the virus appears to be sexually transmissible. On Feb. 2, the Dallas health department confirmed, in concert with the CDC, that someone in the U.S. had been infected with Zika through sexual contact with a person who had traveled to a Zika-affected country—a curveball that could make the outbreak even harder to control. That could lead the CDC to recommend the use of condoms by male travelers in or returning from Zika-affected areas.

What's become clear is that the virus, brought to South America by international travelers, highlights the insidious and unpredictable nature of infectious disease in an increasingly interconnected world. "Zika is not a new virus, but what we are seeing right now is new," said Dr. Anne Schuchat, principal deputy director of the CDC. And it's what we don't know that makes Zika so scary.

THE NOVA DESCOBERTA neighborhood in Recife is prime real estate for the *A. aegypti* mosquito. Deep trenches along the sides of roads carry slow-moving water, the perfect shelter for mosquito eggs. Also perfect are the large blue containers that residents use for the frequent days when they lack access to running water. The colorful shanty homes rarely have screens in windows, providing no protection from mosquitoes in search of a blood meal. While the 85°F (29°C) temperatures and intense humidity wilt humans outside in the daytime, the same conditions energize mosquitoes, allowing them to fly farther and bite more often. That is what makes the efforts of the 10 health and municipal workers who, on a recent Monday, walked the streets of Nova Descoberta and carefully poured a granule mixture

of insecticide into any sitting water so important. If Brazil—and the rest of Latin America, and even the U.S.—is going to win the battle against mosquito-borne viruses, it needs to beat the bug. "This kind of mosquito is a survivor," says Jailson Correia, health secretary of Recife, who estimates that at one point, nearly 5% of houses in the city tested positive for mosquito larvae. "They have adapted to the urban environment."

In fact, *A. aegypti* mosquitoes have adapted to live almost anywhere that's warm and wet and close to people. From the point of view of a mosquito, these conditions are perfect: human dwellings, especially in urban areas, provide plenty of standing water in which they can lay eggs, while humans themselves provide the nourishment. So it shouldn't be surprising that the viruses carried by those insects—which exchange fluids with humans every time they bite—came to adapt themselves to human beings as well.

The result is a health catastrophe that long predates Zika. Mosquito-borne diseases like malaria, dengue and yellow fever kill over half a million people a year worldwide. In 2014, Bill Gates, whose foundation has spent billions fighting mosquito-borne diseases, dubbed the insect "the deadliest animal in the world."

In recent years, aided by climate change, urbanization and the growth of international travel, mosquito-borne diseases have made repeated incursions into new territory. This includes the U.S. Dengue, chikungunya and West Nile virus—diseases historically confined to tropical Asia and Africa—have all broken into the western hemisphere, where they've been defeating control efforts, especially in crowded, poor and hot cities like Recife.

Dengue in particular has been on the rise—WHO estimated that dengue infected people globally 30 times more frequently in 2013 than it did in the 1960s. Even before Zika, Recife was experiencing a massive dengue outbreak, with an 800% increase in cases in 2015 compared with 2014. Symptoms include fever, rashes and muscle pain so intense that the virus is also known as "breakbone fever"—which is why, unlike with Zika, you're not likely to forget you contracted it.

Still, doctors in Recife suspect that some of the illnesses that were chalked up to dengue last year may have been Zika, spreading under the radar. It would have been easy to miss. It's not clear exactly when Zika was introduced to Brazil, though the Brazilian government suspects it was brought by infected travelers from Africa or Oceania—two regions where Zika was endemic—visiting for the 2014 World Cup. Although Recife's health director Correia estimates that 50,000 to 100,000 people in the city may have been exposed to Zika—out of a population of 1.5 million—most would never have shown symptoms. And confirming Zika infection is difficult. "We can only show that infection is present in the person when infection is ongoing, five or seven days after symptoms appear," says Dr. Lavinia Schuler-Faccini, president of the Brazilian Society of Medical Genetics.

That's left the infants born with microcephaly to function as accidental sentinels of a disease outbreak. Last October, Van Der Linden went to the state government to alert it to the unexplained surge in microcephaly cases in Recife. The Brazilian Ministry of Health began reviewing data from birth certificates and found there was indeed a spike in the birth defect. (Brazil has recorded over 4,000 cases of microcephaly over the past year, compared with 150 in a normal year.) As news spread, worried mothers began flooding hospital waiting rooms with their infants.

"In 43 years as a doctor, I have seen outbreaks of polio and cholera but never anything as shocking as this," says Dr. Angela Rocha, head of the infectious-disease unit at Oswaldo Cruz Hospital in Recife. "The panic, stress and uncertainty of

A Recife health worker takes part in a fumigation operation in a mosquito-ridden neighborhood

SEBASTIAN LISTE—NOOR FOR TIME

these women—it is difficult to watch."

That uncertainty is shared by troubled scientists, who have seen strong epidemiological evidence but not yet proof that Zika in an expectant mother can cause microcephaly in an infant. Ideally, doctors would be able to test mothers of infants with microcephaly to see whether they had antibodies to Zika, which would indicate past infection—but such a test for mothers doesn't exist yet, and the test for currently infected people is slow. So instead, researchers are trying to infer whether the mothers contracted Zika while pregnant by gauging their medical history, looking for symptoms from the past that might be Zika-like.

"As far as we can tell right now, there is an association between them, but we cannot prove it," says Dr. Mauricio Lacerda Nogueira, a dengue researcher based in the Brazilian city of São José do Rio Preto. Brazilian scientists like Nogueira, aided by researchers at the CDC, are conducting studies to answer some of those questions.

FOR THE MOTHERS of infants with microcephaly, what has happened to their children is less important than what will happen to them next. Gabriela Alves de Azevedo, who is 20 years old, had what she remembered as a "perfect" pregnancy before she gave birth to Anna Sophia three months ago, but the baby girl's head was abnormally small. She was confirmed with microcephaly; instead of coming home, she remained at the hospital for 26 days.

Even now, doctors can't say whether Anna Sophia will be able to walk or talk, or even how long she will live. "You have severe destruction of the central nervous system," says Dr. Pedro F.C. Vasconcelos, a Brazilian researcher working on a Zika vaccine. "These kids will need support for the rest of their lives."

With the number of people expected to contract Zika in the Americas this year projected at up to 4 million, even the chance that the virus could lead to thousands more cases of microcephaly is enough to raise alarm. "If indeed the scientific linkage between Zika and microcephaly is established, can you imagine if we do not do all this work now and wait until the scientific evidence comes out?" WHO's Chan said. "Then people will say, 'Why didn't you take action?'"

WHO came under some criticism for not issuing a travel advisory, as the CDC has done. The declaration will mobilize international resources and speed the dollars that will pour in for research on better diagnostic tests and a vaccine. But stopping Zika will fall to the affected countries themselves—and that's a problem.

Brazil, the biggest economy in Latin America, is suffering through a major recession and political turmoil while simultaneously preparing to host the Olympics in Rio de Janeiro this summer. The government has said Zika will pose no risk to Olympic visitors unless they're pregnant and has noted the Games will take place during Brazil's cooler winter season. But athletes are still expressing concern, while some airlines are already offering refunds to travelers canceling trips to Zika-affected regions.

Brazil has launched an all-out war on Zika and the *A. aegypti* mosquito, deploying 220,000 soldiers to spray insecticide and spread information. But doctors on the front lines say the public-health system is stretched. "It's challenging because we are experiencing a new overload of services in a difficult time," says Correia. "Now we have an extra burden on that."

But that's nothing compared with what women in Zika-affected Latin American countries are experiencing. They can try to put off pregnancy, as some governments in the region are advising, but barely more than half the women in the region have access to contraception. Abortion is totally banned in four countries in Latin America and is legal in Brazil only in cases of rape or where the mother's life is in danger—a category that currently doesn't include Zika. (Microcephaly can't be detected in utero until the third trimester.) "Even if we can make a prenatal diagnosis, we are not allowed to interrupt these pregnancies," says Schuler-Faccini.

The U.S., fortunately, should be mostly shielded from the direct spread of Zika for now. The range of the *A. aegypti* mosquito tends to be limited to the hottest and most humid parts of the South, and the ubiquity of air-conditioning keeps them separate from humans. But infectious diseases don't respect national borders, and Zika is already establishing itself in Latin America. There's no more hospitable habitat for an *A. aegypti* than a hot and poor city, and Latin America—the most urbanized region on the planet, where 80% of the population lives in cities—is full of them. The Brazilian state of Pernambuco, which includes Recife, is one of the poorest in Brazil, with more than 650,000 households living on less than the minimum wage of $220 a month. The rapid spread of dengue there is a worrying omen for how Brazil will handle Zika.

In the meantime, scientists will work on a vaccine—though that will likely take years—and try to find conclusive answers to the questions that have women frightened from one end of the Americas to the other. But that anxiety won't dissipate anytime soon. Everything about Zika makes it a uniquely modern nightmare: the sprawl of new cities, the persistence of poverty, the changing climate, the diminution of distance and most of all, our unspoken fears for our children.

—With reporting by JUSTIN WORLAND/NEW YORK *and* MATT SANDY/RECIFE ◻

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Time Off

'IT PAYS TO REMEMBER THAT THE WHOLE POINT OF TERRORISM IS TO PROVOKE AN OVERREACTION.' —PAGE 54

Clooney resurrects his haircut of choice, circa 1995, in Hail, Caesar!

MOVIES

Hail, Caesar! is a chopped salad of zany mermaids, sailors and centurions

By Stephanie Zacharek

WHY WOULD ANYONE GET INTO THE heartless, heartbreaking movie business? It's never a good bet, but there must be times when all the agony pays off—when, for instance, you get to stage a water ballet featuring Scarlett Johansson in a spangly mermaid's costume, or set a scowling George Clooney stomping around in a Roman mini-tunic and gladiator sandals, or mount a buoyant song-and-dance number with Channing Tatum as a sailor getting ready to ship out, tippity-tapping away even as he frets about the lack of dames at sea. Joel and Ethan Coen have been in the game long enough that they can indulge in such fanciful curlicues, and they pack a lot of them into *Hail, Caesar!*

Josh Brolin stars as a '50s-era Hollywood fixer named Eddie Mannix, and he's a busy guy: his duties include rescuing an arrogant, drunken actor (Clooney) from a bunch of communist kidnappers and dreaming up clever ways to cover up swimming starlet Johansson's out-of-wedlock pregnancy.

There's a lot going on in *Hail, Caesar!,* and camera-bulb flashes of brilliance hit here and there. The Coens are in their woolly mode, riffing on their fondness for tall tales and outlandish, larger-than-life figures: they've made some of their finest, most enjoyable movies—like *The Big Lebowski* and *O Brother, Where Art Thou?*—while chasing this ball-of-yarn muse. But in *Hail, Caesar!* they hit every beat as if it were a gong, when what they really need is the tremor of a drumstick grazing the edge of a cymbal. It's as if the Coens want to

UNIVERSAL

give themselves over to all-out ridiculousness and simply can't manage—they're just too cerebral. The supersecret lefty cabal that holds Clooney's superstar hostage is made up of disillusioned Hollywood screenwriters who aim to secretly implant ideological messages in movie scripts. That's exactly what the House Un-American Activities Committee, in real life, accused certain screenwriters of doing, but in the Coens' hands the gag feels arch and overworked.

Yet the small moments of glory from *Hail, Caesar!* would make one hell of a highlight reel. Ralph Fiennes saunters in as a musty has-been director trying to wrangle a charmingly inept cowboy star—played by relative newcomer Alden Ehrenreich—into a stiff costume drama. Tilda Swinton appears in a dual role, playing rival sister gossip columnists: one Swinton swans in with a carnival-striped minihat perched ludicrously, and marvelously, atop her coiffure, an instance of costume design as sight gag. The Coens clearly wanted to fill *Hail, Caesar!* with the wonderful trifles movies no longer have a place for: silly hats on women, Esther Williams–style extravaganzas, dancing sailors. Their love for these things is a charming and admirable trait. *Hail, Caesar!* doesn't completely hang together. But Johansson in a mermaid's tail? Really, why else make movies—or go to them? ◻

A singing, dancing Tatum: Hello, sailor!

As Elizabeth, James shows Buffy Summers' panache for dispatching the undead

REVIEW

Austen heroine kills undead with moxie, manners

THE PLEASURES OF BURR STEERS' *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies*—adapted from Seth Grahame-Smith's zombified retooling of Jane Austen's masterwork—are surprisingly sturdy, considering the enterprise is built on a fragile gimmick: Elizabeth Bennet (Lily James) isn't just a Regency smarty but a ruthless slayer of the undead hordes that have invaded England. Still, this zombie-ridden world differs little from Austen's: Elizabeth and her four sisters, including the eldest, Jane (Bella Heathcote), must ensure their financial security by finding husbands. Luckily, all are well versed in zombie slaying—but even though they're better at kicking zombie ass than most men, they still need men for the day-to-day basics.

Elizabeth meets her match, in both romance and zombie-thrashing acuity, in Sam Riley's Darcy: in an early scene, he dispatches a pesky brain eater with a broken sherry glass and later steps in to save Elizabeth from a seemingly benign dowager who's really looking for a meal. But more often than not, it's Elizabeth (or one of her sisters) who's swooping in to save the gents. At its best, *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* has some of the feisty energy of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer:* Elizabeth and her sisters pinwheel through the air like wuxia warriors, taking on the sluggish, witless invaders with weapons they've artfully sharpened themselves.

> 'I shall never relinquish my sword for a ring. The right man wouldn't ask me to.'
>
> **LILY JAMES**, as Elizabeth Bennet

The novelty of *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* wears thin in the last third, but Riley and James help carry it to the finish line. James glows with the understated dignity of a classic English rose, whether she's wearing an empire gown or an intentionally anachronistic black leather corset. And Riley makes a dashing—and suitably inscrutable—Darcy. In Austen's novel, Darcy's social awkwardness, so intertwined with his integrity and his intelligence, is key to his appeal. Riley captures that essence: his prowess at clobbering mindless demon creatures is just a handy extra, like the ability to unscrew a stubborn jar cap or reach something on a high shelf. Our Elizabeth is fully capable of taking care of herself, but it's still nice to have a man around the house, especially when zombies are afoot. —S.Z.

AWARDS SEASON

Leo, the bear and the confounding Oscar race of 2016

By John Anderson

DID YOU HEAR THE ONE ABOUT LEONARDO DiCaprio being sexually violated in *The Revenant*—by a bear? The one Jonah Hill mocked at the Golden Globes and the *Onion* lampooned with the headline "Leonardo DiCaprio Hopes He Screamed and Cried Good Enough in *The Revenant* to Win Oscar"? The one the Drudge Report said was true and 20th Century Fox (accurately) said was false, but got the star more buzz than 10 Kardashians locked in a *Room*? In the 2016 Oscar race, truth and fabrication grapple like actors and bears, and attention is always welcome—unless it's to point out that for the first time in 36 years, no actors of color were nominated for two years running.

It has been a strange Oscar season. Before the late-breaking *Revenant* took a commanding lead in January with 12 nominations, *Spotlight* seemed the smart-money bet (it got six), while *The Big Short* strong-armed its way to the front (it got five). *The Revenant* was touted as a grueling, arduous endeavor that deserved an Oscar because it was a grueling, arduous endeavor. Then came the fatuous bear rumor, which is the kind of thing movie marketers can't buy. Though many would like to try.

You'll see them on Oscar night, Feb. 28, scuttling on the red carpet with clipboards, cutting off interviews, waiting for *Mad Max: Fury Road* (10 noms) to upset or *Spotlight* to make journalism hip again. Theirs is a single-minded enterprise with real-world rewards, but there's no magic formula, says Rebecca Fisher of PR firm PMK-BNC. "We thought we were safe with *Carol*," she says of one film she promoted. Director Todd Haynes' drama showed early strength among critics and garnered six nods, including Best Actress (Cate Blanchett) and Best Supporting Actress (Rooney Mara), but was left out of the Best Picture and Best Director categories.

That must have annoyed *Carol* executive producer Harvey Weinstein, known as the William Tecumseh Sherman of scorched-earth Oscar lobbying. He was also bucking for Quentin Tarantino's *The Hateful Eight*, which earned just three nods—and not even Tarantino's usual chit for Best Original Screenplay. The various whisper campaigns gleefully attributed to Weinstein over the years—like those against *Saving Private Ryan* and *The Pianist*—may amount to a whisper campaign all their own, but what Hollywood really seems to abhor is Weinstein's having done to the Oscars what Citizens United did to politics. (He declined through a representative to comment for this story). Wags have pilloried Weinstein for using deep pockets to chase awards, but this year's big-spender rap may be hung on Netflix, which ran TV ads for its nonfiction features. It paid off: *What Happened, Miss Simone?* and *Winter on Fire: Ukraine's Fight for Freedom* are both up for Best Documentary.

THE RAGGED ROAD TO THE BIGGEST PRIZE
A raunchy rumor about *The Revenant* helped it dominate Oscar chatter; its star, DiCaprio, is gunning to win his first Academy Award

While 2016 hasn't been notable for dirty tricks—unlike 2010, when the Academy barred from the ceremony a producer of *The Hurt Locker* after an email campaign zinged *Avatar*'s huge budget—someone is always gaming the system, says Steven Raphael, who helped land *Theeb* a Best Foreign Film nomination. "If you look at the [Golden] Globes," he says, "*The Martian* being nominated as a comedy is obviously a studio marketing department strategizing. At the end of the day, everybody was happy and *The Martian* got its profile raised," winning Best Actor (Matt Damon) and Best Picture in the comedy or musical category. Now it has seven Academy nominations, including Best Actor and Best Picture. You may not be able to buy an Oscar, but it's a bear market for filmmakers who won't work to boost their odds. ◻

TATUM: UNIVERSAL; JAMES: SCREEN GEMS

TELEVISION

A second season of *Saul* breaks the spin-off curse

By Daniel D'Addario

IT'S GOT TO BE HARD TO ATTEMPT TO follow one of the most successful drama series of all time. But Jimmy McGill is a striver. Last year Jimmy, a con artist who dreams of success as a lawyer, entered viewers' lives on AMC's *Better Call Saul.* He's the younger version of the *Breaking Bad* lawyer Saul Goodman, before he changed his name and realized he could use the law to pull off even better scores.

Yet too often, the series felt like a set of delicious ingredients that didn't add up to a nourishing meal. Lacking *Breaking Bad*'s relentless forward momentum, *Better Call Saul* noodled around the Albuquerque, N.M., legal scene and showed us, again and again, how much fun it is to pull off a score, whether against a barfly or the justice system.

Although comparisons between the shows have often been unflattering to *Saul,* Jimmy (played by Bob Odenkirk) has finally earned a break. In its second season, beginning Feb. 15, *Better Call Saul* allows us into a new world of complexity by deepening one of the show's pivotal relationships. It's the best-case scenario for a spin-off: a show that occupies a familiar world but opens up entirely new themes.

AS THE SEASON BEGINS, Jimmy is indulging a belief in the "sunk-cost fallacy." He's prepared to abandon the legal career he spent the show's first season working for, receiving in return nothing but signs that he was in the wrong field. We learn as much early in the second season: "There's no reward at the end of this game!" he snarls, drinking cheap liquor at the bar of a janky resort hotel where he's holed up to feel sorry for himself.

Like all the other setups on this show, the scene is honest enough about its characters' failings and committed enough to a grungy aesthetic to hold our attention. (And like much that Jimmy says, it's not meant entirely in earnest: he's not done with the law yet.) But the scene pays off thanks to the performance of the person listening.

That's Rhea Seehorn, playing Kim, an attorney with whom Jimmy shares a complicated history. Kim has always been among the show's bright spots. Now she takes center stage as she and Jimmy explore what they mean to each other. Their similarities make for riveting television; in this season's premiere, Jimmy and Kim team up to pull off a small-scale heist that provides them some cheap thrills and provides us a gleefully askew date scene.

It's as romantic a notion, in its way, as I've seen on TV in ages. The ways in which Jimmy and Kim differ draw out themes that last season's *Saul* didn't have the tools to express. Kim wants to be a part of the system in order to do work in which she believes; Jimmy wants to better his own position, and if he helps people, that's nice too.

He may be seasons away from becoming Saul. But Jimmy's journey feels far more directed when given a counterpoint as tough and alluring as Kim, a character whose frankness and sharp legal mind make her something far more than a love interest. And Seehorn's ability to wistfully convey ambivalent hope for Jimmy makes Odenkirk better.

That's saying something, given the position of strength from which Odenkirk, long known as a comic actor, begins any project. The duality Odenkirk is playing is less good vs. evil than sad clown. When he's working, amid indignities that block his attempts to impress Kim and his reclusive-genius brother (Michael McKean), we see his mind racing through his jagged, hasty speech. But as soon as things slow down, when Jimmy stops to contemplate his place in the universe, something shatters.

MUG SHOT
Odenkirk brews up a romance that comes with moral ambiguity

THIS, MORE THAN EVER, is the strength of *Better Call Saul.* It makes the specific details of one man's attempt to assess where he stands relative to his ambitions feel as seismic as the sexier story we think we should be seeing, about a man giving in to pure greed. *Breaking Bad* became a cultural phenomenon by telling the morally unambiguous story of a man liberated by living on his own (horrifyingly amoral) terms. Now *Better Call Saul* asks the more nuanced question of just how much compromise a person can live with. Is Saul bad for cheating a mark out of a few hundred bucks? For involving himself in cases in which he doesn't belong? For leading Kim on? Is he even doing so?

Jimmy believes in himself, at least. And Kim does, for now. She gives him a WORLD'S 2ND BEST LAWYER mug and tells him, "Second is still very good." Sometimes giving up on your ideals isn't a flashy or dramatic process. Sometimes it's just a matter of settling, as seen through a pair of profoundly perceptive eyes. □

BETTER CALL SAUL *airs Mondays at 10 p.m. E.T. on AMC*

Gadon and Franco in 11.22.63

TELEVISION

Hulu revives King—and tries to save a President

IN YEARS GONE BY, STEPHEN KING ADAPTATIONS WERE television events, shown on ABC over several nights, terrifying the whole family. (Just ask viewers who caught a glimpse of *It*'s Pennywise the clown as children if they remember it—but be prepared to provide some light counseling.)

Today, though, streaming services are where ambitious TV events live; Hulu will be rolling out its eight-part King adaptation *11.22.63* once a week starting Feb. 15. The premise—thrusting a contemporary teacher (James Franco) back in time with a mission to stop Lee Harvey Oswald from killing John F. Kennedy—is simple and dispensed with quickly. It's so simple, in fact, that conspiracy theories don't enter into it. King knew, in writing his 2011 novel, that preventing an infamous tragedy had primal appeal; the team behind the miniseries gets the added advantage of luxurious period visuals.

It's unfortunate, though, that Franco is at this project's center. Though he certainly reads as contemporary, he's not committed enough to the show's strangeness to compel us. Far better is Sarah Gadon, a Canadian actor who's excelled in the films of David Cronenberg. She presents the sort of allure that might keep a time traveler from achieving his objective.

Eight episodes, here, is too many; the series goes down several blind alleys before it gets to Dealey Plaza. But its best moments thrum with tension, as when the past rebels against our hero, trying to repel him. You probably shouldn't try to go back to the past. But whether it comes to changing history or reviving a genre, it's too tempting not to try. —D.D.

11.22.63 *streams new episodes Mondays on Hulu*

> 'Humans were built to look back; that's why we have that swivel joint in our necks.'
>
> **STEPHEN KING**, in the book adapted as *11.22.63*

ODENKIRK: AMC; RAMS: COHEN MEDIA GROUP; WEST: GETTY IMAGES; 11.22.63: HULU

TIME PICKS

TELEVISION
Spike Lee's Showtime documentary ***Michael Jackson's Journey From Motown to Off the Wall*** (Feb. 5) uses archival footage and interviews to paint a portrait of the King of Pop's rise to superstardom.

MOVIES
In Iceland's wryly comedic Oscar entry ***Rams*** (Feb. 3), a pair of estranged sheep-farmer brothers must reunite to protect their virus-infected livestock.

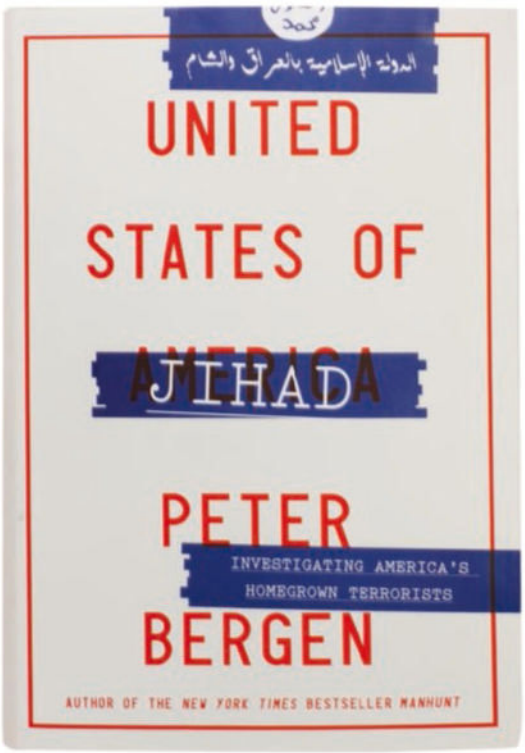
BOOKS
In ***And Then All Hell Broke Loose: Two Decades in the Middle East,*** Richard Engel recounts his many years reporting in that region, tracing the rise and fall of leaders and terrorist groups.

MUSIC
"No More Parties in L.A.," a single with Kendrick Lamar on **Kanye West**'s new album, *Waves,* finds the rapper sounding much as he did in his earlier work as he reflects on fame and fatherhood.

TERRORISM

Be afraid. Be, well, only a little afraid

By Karl Vick



SAFE AT HOME Even with San Bernardino, more people (48) have been killed by right-wing extremists in the U.S. since 9/11 than by Islamic terrorists (45)

THE PEOPLE WHO KNOW THE MOST about terrorism are pretty much all on the same page, and in Peter Bergen's *United States of Jihad,* that page is the last one. It's where the author strives to put into perspective the sense of peril that has kept the reader turning the previous 279 pages, a pulsing urgency that propels TV series like *Homeland,* much of cable news and the smack talk of the Republican presidential field—this feeling that something's going to happen, something terrible.

Except it's probably not, Bergen concludes. There is terrorism, and there is fear of terrorism, and only one of those is actually rampant in the U.S. "I don't worry about it very much," says a former top counterterrorism official from the FBI, Philip Mudd, in the nuanced HBO documentary *Homegrown,* adapted from Bergen's book. Andrew Liepman, a former No. 2 at the National Counterterrorism Center, lists bigger threats: obesity, cancer, gun violence. "But that," he says, "doesn't capture America's imagination as much as the threat from ISIS."

So here we all are, on the edge of our seats, when maybe we should be settled into the couch cushions—working it out with a counselor. Bergen points out that the enormous security apparatus put in place after 9/11 has prevented anything remotely similar from occurring since. Of 72 known plots, including a few of dubious inspiration, 56 were detected by law enforcement (44 with tips from Muslims). The death count from the few that succeeded narrowly trails the 48 people killed by right-wing extremists.

There's drama in the cases Bergen relates at chapter length, but knowing what we already do, it's nearly the vicarious sort produced by horror films and detective fiction. A decade ago, Garrison Keillor wrote that victory in the Cold War "left us feeling oddly bereft, so now we have embraced the War Against Terrorism, which nobody believes in—there is no rush to enlist—and yet the concrete barricades and the platoons of security at the airport do give us a sense of danger, which is satisfying."

The anxiety is real, though, whatever its source. The beheadings of James Foley and Steven Sotloff awakened something that has only been amplified in the 17 months since, and now dominates all public concerns, polls say. Bergen is not the go-to guy on ISIS, or "punk jihad." He's more O.G., having made his bones interviewing Osama bin Laden in 1997. But he makes a highly reliable guide on the road to the present day, which turns out to be the information superhighway. U.S.-born terrorists followed logically from the arrival online of English-language jihadi literature, including sermons. The American-born cleric Anwar al-Awlaki died by drone strike in 2011, but his teachings survive online and were absorbed by 87 of the 330 Americans charged with Islamic terrorism since 9/11.

Bergen also surveys the expert thinking on what makes a jihadi—a crucial evolution now that social media allow terrorists to groom recruits online. He ends up at Quantico, Va., where FBI profilers have developed promising tools to separate who's all talk from who just might. If the assessments work, it would vindicate those who argued that, post-Afghanistan, countering terrorism should have been a job for law-enforcement and security services.

Instead, the U.S. invaded Iraq, blowing oxygen onto fading embers, and got ISIS. It pays to remember that the whole point of terrorism is to provoke an overreaction. (One jihadi handbook is titled *The Management of Savagery.*) As Bergen says, if 9/11 happened because we had our guard down, no one can argue that our guard is down now. It's so far up, it may be obscuring our sight. ◻

Bergen is a security analyst for CNN and vice president of the New America Foundation

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Gourds to live by

By Mandy Oaklander

WINTER'S VEGETABLE BOUNTY CAN seem a little sad, and its most abundant offering—winter squash—can be daunting to even the most seasoned home cooks. But the fact is, says Michael Anthony, executive chef and partner of New York City's Gramercy Tavern and Untitled and author of the new book *V Is for Vegetables,* most are a breeze to prepare.

"The thing to get over with vegetable cookery, especially with squash, is sometimes it looks intimidating," he says. "We have a hard time looking at a squash and saying, 'I can imagine how that's going to make a steamy, seductive, delicious dinner in no time.'" But among Anthony's favorite preparations, these five deserve a second glance. Squash is inexpensive and a good source of vitamins A and C as well as fiber. Plus, some varieties can last for weeks on the kitchen counter. "A lot of times, they're so weird-looking or beautiful that they become decorative," he says. "Boxes of cereal don't communicate warmth and family values like something as gorgeous as a squash."

KABOCHA
With a rich flavor and grainy flesh, kabocha is also quite sweet. To make soup, sweat down onions and garlic in olive oil, add big chunks of peeled kabocha and simmer in chicken broth until tender. Then put into blender and puree. Add more liquid as needed.

DELICATA
Smaller ones can be eaten with the peel on. To cook, mix equal parts flour, cornstarch and cold water to make tempura batter. Coat squash slices and dip into 3 inches of hot oil to make fritters.

SPAGHETTI
To turn the flesh into "noodles," just cut in half, roast 35 minutes at 375°F and scrape out the insides with a fork. Season with butter, salt, lemon juice and olive oil; serve under roasted fish.

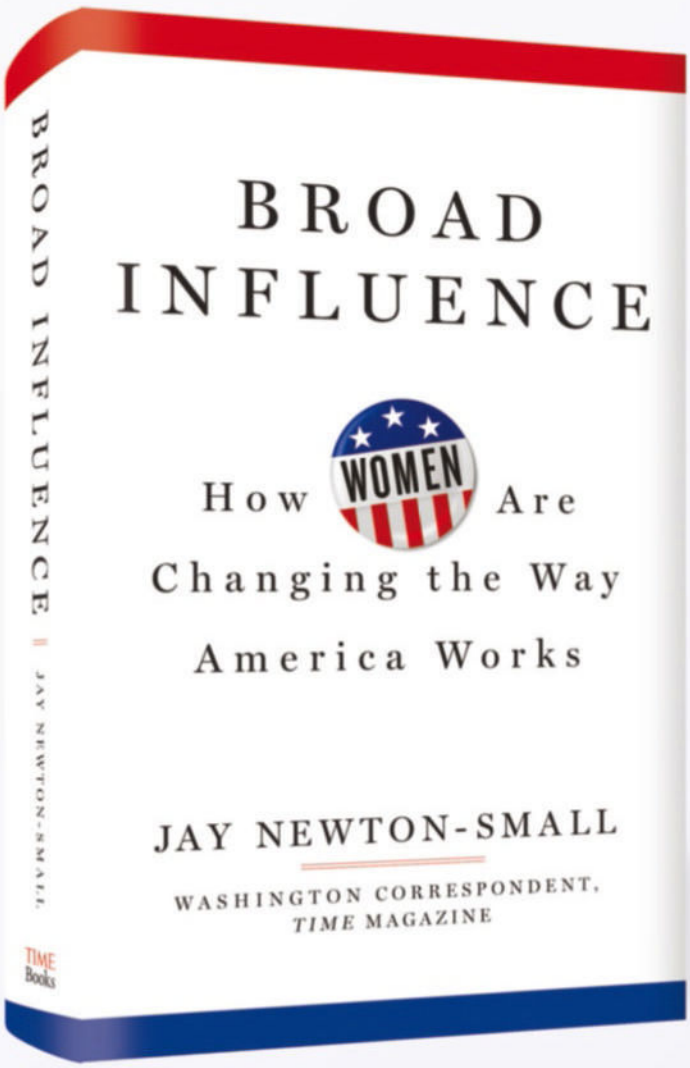
ACORN
A smaller, lighter squash, the acorn can double as an edible dinner bowl. Cut in half, scoop out seeds and season with olive oil, salt, pepper and smoked paprika. Roast 35 to 40 minutes at 350°F, then fill with wild rice and braised kale or other greens.

BUTTERNUT
Cook peeled chunks in butter, brown sugar, water and salt until tender. Toss with pine nuts and raisins; spoon onto cabbage salad.

SUZANNE DARCY FOR TIME

The Trailblazers

When women reach between 20 percent to 30 percent of any organization, they begin to change how things are done. American leadership is finally reaching that critical mass, and this insightful new book explores what that means for all of us.



★ ★ ★

"**Jay Newton-Small breaks a great story.** It's how women members of Congress have restored the lost politics of compromise. Where men waste time proving who's toughest, women give enduring priority to getting things done."

—Chris Matthews,
Host of *Hardball* on *MSNBC*

★ ★ ★

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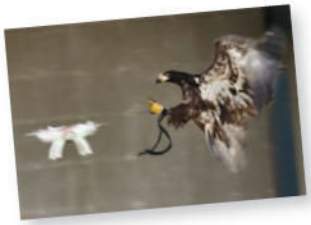

Dutch National Police are working with a local company to train **eagles that hunt down illegal civilian drones.**

Zayn Malik is **releasing his solo album** on March 25, the one-year anniversary of his leaving One Direction.

One day after losing her dad to cancer, Vanessa Hudgens **delivered a showstopping performance** as Betty Rizzo in Fox's *Grease: Live.*

Florida's Legoland is **hiring 20 people to build Lego things all day.** They'll be called "master model builders."

Lord of the Rings star Dominic Monaghan revealed that **David Bowie auditioned for a part,** possibly that of Gandalf.

Thousands of Snoop Dogg fans **have signed a petition** to get the rapper to narrate a season of *Planet Earth.*

LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

A 99-year-old Florida woman **woke up with a kinkajou**—a rain-forest-dwelling cousin of the raccoon—sleeping on her chest.

New York City bar Black Tap has started **selling $15 milk shakes.** The upside: they're garnished with giant lollipops, pretzels and more.

People are claiming that McDonald's mozzarella sticks **don't have enough cheese.**

After a misunderstanding, Kanye West **went on a Twitter rant against rapper Wiz Khalifa,** referring to Khalifa's daughter and their mutual ex, Amber Rose. Among the most talked-about lines:

'You have distracted from my creative process.'

EAGLE: DUTCH NATIONAL POLICE/AP; GANDALF: PHOTOFEST; HUDGENS: FOX; MOZZARELLA STICKS: TWITTER; MILK SHAKES: BLACK TAP (4); KINKAJOU: ALAMY; LEGO, MALIK, SNOOP DOGG, EARTH, KHALIFA, ROSE, WEST: GETTY IMAGES

By Nolan Feeney, Samantha Grossman and Ashley Ross

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPY-ISH

In our overdocumented lives, letting go has gotten a lot harder

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

WHEN MY YOUNGER DAUGHTER GROWS UP, SHE'LL HAVE her own giant digital archive—photos of every friend she ever had, every comment on what she ate and wore and worried about from fifth grade on. All her relationships will have their own real-time transcript. And while teenagers may be the most avid self-documenters, it's true for all of us to varying degrees. In the past 10 years, we've learned to measure out our lives not in coffee spoons but in tens of thousands of images and words, a universe that grows in both reach and volume with every new device.

Most of us type more than we talk these days. And the more we live in this parallel digital world, the blurrier the line gets between present and past. Because when nothing is lost, nothing is past. Even if you want it to be. Unbidden, Facebook's Memories function has started posting photos of a meal you ate seven years ago with people who may not even be alive anymore. And those images sit in your feed along with photos of the mimosa brunch you're having on vacation right this very second. Time is no longer a river; it's a looping series of digital paths.

IT'S TEMPTING TO WANDER DOWN those pathways, to dredge up an ancient text to win an argument, to pore over a long-forgotten exchange to pinpoint exactly when things crossed over from flirting to love or from love to bitterness. (Surely there's an app that will analyze language of affection and map when certain words start to dwindle or increase.)For those of us who came of age before we became our own court stenographers, this is unsettling. All that evidence of what we really said messes with the version of ourselves we've created. But for our children, having constant, immediate access to every memory is normal. They have grown up as time shifters, each living in his or her own version of the moment.

A few years ago, my daughter, who was just in elementary school, fell in love with the band Queen. She found it online, and for months I'd come home to "We Are the Champions" blasting, a song that was played at my junior high basketball games. Then early one morning, she opened my bedroom door, distraught. "Mom, did you know that Freddie Mercury is … dead?" She'd gone deep into YouTube and stumbled on an old video of the lead singer in his British garden, thin, without his glittering costumes, not long before he died of AIDS in 1991. There was my 21st century girl, mourning a 20th century tragedy as if it had just happened.

Now she's obsessed with streaming TV shows that I watched while pregnant with her. Last year it was *The Office*—a series that reminds me of 2006 and the financial crash, bringing her to kindergarten and my impending divorce. For her, it's all new. And when she's 35, she'll be able to watch it whenever she wants. In fact, she'll be able to go back to visit her life in 2016 anytime she wants.

If you, like my family, are of a nostalgic and sometimes emotionally litigious nature, this vast digital archive can be the devil's playground. There are all the old connections, detailed transcripts of conversations with people you will always miss. Parents long gone, a child now grown, all the places you've been that are impossible to revisit. All of it stored in that growing digital cloud of data, the wiki of us. Human beings are built to bond and to resist separation, to grieve the end of things. It's an ache that ebbs and flows, stirred up by reminders you can't predict. But now the reminders are always on tap and dispensed regularly.

AND THOSE UNCOUNTABLE IMAGES are just the start. Last year researchers in France came up with a way to re-create a loved one's scent. Using a piece of clothing, they can isolate 100 molecules that are unique to a person and turn them into a bottle of perfume. There may be no more visceral way to evoke memories. Smell is the only sense that connects directly to the part of our brain where we store memories.

When I first heard about this, it was creepy and yet … tempting. My mom died five years ago, and until recently her favorite jacket still smelled like her. Now it smells like my closet. Part of me wants to have that part of her back, to stave off time. Or maybe if I had to choose, I'd bottle the scent of my daughters as babies, something that would remind me of their soft, sweet selves when their teenage selves drive me bats.

But here's the problem with ubiquitous remembrances, whether in a bottle or in a device. You can still wear them out. Even with all our data, memories are fragile and easily distorted. Look at a photo too often, read the same passage over and over again, immerse yourself in the scent of a loved one constantly and it loses potency. It becomes a memory of remembering.

That's one advantage of our imperfect brains. We can't help but stumble ahead. And it's possible that you look forward to having grandchildren precisely because you miss the way your own kids smelled when they were just out of the bath. □

ILLUSTRATION BY JULIETTE BORDA FOR TIME

Samantha Bee With the debut of *Full Frontal* on TBS, the *Daily Show* alum becomes the only female late-night host. Her pitch: "Watch or you're sexist"

Were you worried about what would happen when people Googled *Full Frontal*? Honestly, it did not occur to me that people would sexualize it. I don't know why my head is in the sand. The world has a dirty mind. Not me.

Why did you decide not to sit behind a desk? It just feels so passive, and I get bored with it. I want this show to feel like an attack, or at least more active, especially because I'll be doing a lot of fieldwork.

Some people accused *The Daily Show* of editing field interviews to make people look bad. Was that the case? The best interview subjects are speaking authentically about the things that they're most passionate about. I feel I never took anyone's words out of context. Sometimes when people's answers get played back to them, they just don't like what they see.

Are you going to strive to be impartial on *Full Frontal*? We'll try to be equitable. But my passions do go down a certain thread, and I plan to follow them. I think it will be less impartial than *The Daily Show* and more driven by … anger! I'm kidding. Not anger. But hopefully it will be passionate.

What have you learned from watching other alumni like Stephen Colbert and John Oliver launch their post–*Daily Show* careers? I actually don't watch other people's shows. I don't want to cross streams with them or to take on their style by osmosis. And I don't want to go, "I don't know if I can do that."

How did you put together one of the most diverse writers' rooms in TV? We had a blind submission process, and we actively recruited. Often what happens is you have a blind application process but 90% of the submissions are still from white guys who worked on other late-night shows. So we really worked hard to reach into different communities and call people we admired. We also provided instructions on how to structure a script, so if you'd never written for TV, your blind submission would look as good as someone who went to Harvard and worked on *Letterman* for 10 years.

Diversity is a problem for the whole industry, as the Oscar nominations demonstrate. How do you change that? The Oscars are so lily white this year. It's a really solvable problem. If you have the power to greenlight something, just greenlight things made by a more diverse range of people. As long as I'm here, I would like to do my business differently, because I can.

As a comedian, are you happy with the current state of political affairs? It's still hard on my soul for me to take Donald Trump seriously. I don't think I'll ever get used to it. As much as I'm embracing the circus atmosphere because it will be entertaining, as a voter I would still hope that we get an actual good person in there.

You worked with your husband Jason Jones on *The Daily Show* and now on *Full Frontal*. How do you manage a working relationship with your spouse? We met each other working in a children's-theater troupe and have continued to work together for almost 20 years. He's very good at pushing comedy beyond my comfort zone, and I'm good at reining him in. And we just drop it when we go home. Having children helps because they do not care about our work at all.

Your bus ads say, "Watch or you're sexist." How do you highlight your position without making the show all about that? I love our posters. Our runner-up was "Comedy with wings," which was a really close second. I care about women's stories. I think that people can handle it—even men. —ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

JAVIER SIRVENT FOR TIME

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